

MID-AMERICA

An Historical Review

VOLUME 23, NUMBER 4

OCTOBER 1941

MID-AMERICA

An Historical Review

OCTOBER 1941

VOLUME 23

NEW SERIES, VOLUME 12

NUMBER 4

CONTENTS

NON-ECONOMIC FACTORS IN THE FRONTIER MOVEMENT	Gilbert J. Garraghan	263
TOMAS DE GUADALAJARA, MISSIONARY OF THE TARAHUMARES	Peter M. Dunne	272
PENICAUT AND HIS CHRONICLE OF EARLY LOUISIANA	Elizabeth McCann	288
BOOK REVIEWS		305
PAXSON, <i>The Great Demobilization and Other Essays</i> ; ZUBILLAGA, <i>La Florida, La Misión Jesuítica (1566-1572) y La Colonización Española</i> ; ROY, <i>Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1939-1940</i> ; LANCTOT (EDITOR), <i>New Documents by Lahontan concerning Canada and Newfoundland</i> ; DECORME, <i>La Obra de los Jesuitas Mexicanos durante la Época Colonial. 1572-1767. Tomo II. Las Misiones</i> ; ESPINOSA, <i>The First Expedition of Vargas into New Mexico</i> ; DOLL, <i>The History of Saint Thomas Parish, Ann Arbor</i> .		
NOTES AND COMMENT		315
INDEX		323

MANAGING EDITOR

JEROME V. JACOBSEN, Chicago

EDITORIAL STAFF

GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN
WILLIAM STETSON MERRILL
J. MANUEL ESPINOSA
W. EUGENE SHIELS

RAPHAEL HAMILTON
RAYMOND CORRIGAN
PAUL KINIERY
JEAN DELANGLEZ

Published quarterly by Loyola University (The Institute of Jesuit History) at 50 cents a copy. Annual subscription, \$2.00; in foreign countries, \$2.50. Publication and editorial offices at Loyola University, 6525 Sheridan Road, Chicago, Illinois. All communications should be addressed to the Managing Editor. Entered as second class matter August 7, 1929, at the post office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879. Printed in the United States.

MID-AMERICA

An Historical Review

OCTOBER 1941

VOLUME 23

NEW SERIES, VOLUME 12

NUMBER 4

Non-Economic Factors in the Frontier Movement*

The secret of the vast interest stirred by Turner's frontier hypothesis is very probably the claim it makes to be the open sesame of our national history, to be the single key unlocking its mysteries, solving its problems. The attempt to reduce the multiplicity of details that fill out a highly complex block of history to the unity of a single, comprehensive, all-embracing formula in which the details find a common ultimate interpretation is instinctive to the human mind. And such a formula Turner gave us: "The existence of free land in the West explains American history." Unquestionably a simplification of this sort, even though it be an oversimplification, has its attractions for the hard-pressed historian seeking to get behind a welter of individual facts to the fundamental truth that binds them together and gives them meaning. Yet, for all its fascination, the urge to simplify in history can easily become an urge in the wrong direction. The fact of the matter is that no complex historical phenomenon is explicable by a single cause, a fact stated by no one more emphatically than by Turner himself, as shall presently be seen. In a discussion of the causes of the World War at the Urbana meeting of the American Historical Association in 1934, it was agreed that no single cause could be invoked to explain the epochal conflict; resort must be had to a combination of causes. So it is with the frontier hypothesis. It explains much in American history; it does not, it cannot explain everything, and this in the very nature of things, which postulates a plurality of causes for so intricate, so many-sided a phenomenon as the rise and growth of the American nation.

Turner's hypothesis was introduced by him to the public in a paper, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History,"

* Paper read at the annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Omaha, May 3, 1940.

read at a meeting of the American Historical Association in Chicago, July 12, 1893. The concluding sentence of the first paragraph formulates the hypothesis succinctly: "The existence of an area of free land, its continuous recession and the advance of American settlement westward explain American development."¹ This doctrine was subsequently elaborated by its author at intervals in other articles and addresses, all of which, together with the original paper, were published in 1920 in his volume, *The Frontier in American History*. What is especially to be noted about the various expressions which Turner gave to his frontier speculation is that, while in his initial paper of 1893 he accounted for American development by a single factor and that a geographic-economic one, he later repeatedly declared that non-economic factors also had to be reckoned with in explaining the phenomenon in question. Thus, in a presidential address before the American Historical Association delivered at Indianapolis, December 10, 1910, which bears the caption "Social Forces in American History," he declared that the historian has

abandoned the single hypothesis for the multiple hypothesis. He creates a whole family of possible explanations of a given problem and thus avoids the warping influence of partiality for a single theory. Have we not here an illustration of what is possible and necessary for the historian? Is it not well, before attempting to decide whether history requires an economic interpretation or a psychological or any other ultimate interpretation, to recognize that the factors in human society are varied and complex; that the political historian handling his subject in isolation is certain to miss fundamental facts and relations in his treatment of a given age or nation; that the economic historian is exposed to the same danger; and so of all the other special historians?²

These words make it evident that Turner was not bent on interpreting history, American development included, from an exclusively economic point of view. Hence, when he took to writing history himself, as he did in his *The Rise of the New West*, in 1906, his horizon was not at all bounded by economics. He wrote in the preface: "In the present volume I have kept before myself the importance of regarding American development as

¹ Frederick J. Turner, *The Frontier in American History*, New York, 1920, 1. For a bibliography of the frontier hypothesis, see Everett E. Edwards, *References on the Significance of the Frontier in American History*, Washington, 1939.

² Turner, 331. "History is past literature, it is past politics, it is past religion, it is past economics." "The Significance of History" in *The Early Writings of Frederick Jackson Turner*, Madison, 1938, 57.

the outcome of economic and social as well as political forces" (p. xvii). In standard American histories written along conventional lines as those of Bancroft and Adams political influences are those mostly in evidence; in Turner's mind social and economic influences have also to be taken into account if the whole story is to be told, an ideal that found noteworthy expression in McMaster's *History of the People of the United States*.

Here it is pertinent to ask whether the Turner hypothesis can by any legitimate use of the term be labeled materialistic. By the materialistic is ordinarily understood something entirely in the realm of matter, something which by its very nature excludes non-material and especially spiritual or religious elements or factors. By a widespread convention the Marxian hypothesis is referred to indifferently as the materialistic or the economic interpretation of history. Parenthetically, it may here be noted that few historians have swallowed Marxism in its entirety as a philosophy of history. Scholarly opinion on the subject in recent years has become decidedly anti-Marxian. Thus, the late Edwin R. A. Seligman, editor-in-chief of the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*: "As a philosophical system of universal validity, the theory of 'historical materialism' can no longer be successfully defended."³ Again, the Harvard professor, Mandell Morton Bober: "Marx's theory is impotent to account for historical processes and the reason is that it fails to ascribe sufficient weight to the many non-economic agencies in history."⁴ Finally, Carl L. Becker has subjected the Marxian position to a searching analysis, reaching the conclusion that he "cannot accept the Marxian philosophy as a law of history."⁵ Yet, let it be noted, a qualified economic interpretation of history must necessarily be admitted. No one denies that physical and economic causes play a significant part in history. The mistake is to make them play the whole part.

Recurring now to the query of a moment ago, namely, whether the Turner hypothesis may be considered materialistic, one is led by a study of the evidence to the conclusion that it is not such *in se* and this for the reason that it is not solely and exclusively economic. As has already been pointed out, though the author's original formulation of it reduced the whole expla-

³ *The Economic Interpretation of History*, New York, 1902, 159.

⁴ *Karl Marx's Interpretation of History*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1927.

⁵ "The Marxian Philosophy of History," *Every Man His Own Historian*, New York, 1935, 124.

nation of American development to the single factor of free land in the west, a factor geographic-economic in nature, he later on various occasions so modified or interpreted the original formulation as to recognize the influence of non-economic factors as well. This was done virtually (and even at times explicitly) in his original paper also as when he touched on the influence exerted on the West by religious bodies from the East: "The various denominations strove for possession of the West. Thus an intellectual stream from New England fertilized the West."⁶ An explanation which allows for the play of intellectual and religious forces cannot be said to be intrinsically materialistic.

A further query is in order. Is the frontier hypothesis deterministic in the sense of excluding free will as an historical factor? To this it may be said in answer that nothing in the papers which make up Turner's volume, *The Frontier in American History*, can be interpreted, at least if his words are taken at their face value, as eliminating free human agency from the factors that operate in history. On the contrary, he recognizes in numerous passages the existence of such agency and the influence it has had on historical development:

The self-made man [was] the Western man's ideal, was the kind of man that all men might become. Out of his wilderness experience, out of the freedom of his opportunities, he fashioned a formula for social regeneration—the freedom of the individual to seek his own.⁷

One ideal was that of individual freedom to compete unrestrictedly for the resources of a continent—the squatter's ideal.⁸

One passage in Turner's "Social Forces in American History" is particularly significant: "We must see how these leaders of the sections [in the United States] are shaped partly by their time and section, and how they are in part original, creative by nature of their own genius and initiative."⁹ This is not the language of the determinist, to whom man is a mere automaton responding mechanically to forces over which he has no control.

The frontier, therefore, as Turner appears to have conceived it, is a laboratory of forces economic and otherwise, to which the pioneers reacted by the exercise of their own free wills. Men may be influenced by motives of an economic order, such as the quest of free land, and yet act freely.

⁶ Turner, 36.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 213.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 320.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 322.

It will be pertinent to note here that Marxian materialism and determinism have sometimes been charged against the frontier hypothesis. In 1925 Professor John C. Almack of Stanford University expressed this opinion: "The frontier hypothesis appears to be nothing more than a diluted type of Marxian determinism, its foundation an unmitakeable materialism conceiving of men as the slaves of forces over which they have little influence and no control."¹⁰ That Turner himself would have accepted such an interpretation as at least implied in the idea he sought to convey in formulating the hypothesis appears to be an unwarranted supposition, and this in view of the statements cited from him which are incompatible with a materialistic or deterministic point of view. At the same time it cannot be gainsaid that in the typical presentation of the frontier hypothesis economic motivation in its classic expression of the search for free land has been so stressed and non-economic motivation has been so neglected or ignored as almost inevitably to convey the impression that the hypothesis is intrinsically something materialistic in scope and purpose.

But it is possible to present the frontier hypothesis in a manner to satisfy the demands of logic and historical fact. This may be done by reducing its essential constituents to three propositions: first, the most significant phenomenon in American history is the frontier or westward movement; secondly, the most tangible and effective factor causing this movement, explaining it, is the economic factor of free land in the west; thirdly, the movement was not caused exclusively, is not to be explained entirely by economic causes, but owed its existence, and this in appreciable measure, to non-economic causes also, in particular to missionary and educational endeavor. With these three propositions integrating it, the frontier hypothesis is placed on a logical and defensible basis. But this is not to say that it can be put forth as an altogether demonstrated truth. An outstanding expositor of it, Frederic L. Paxson, declared in 1933 that "it has not been proved and cannot be."¹¹ Turner himself propounded the theory modestly and tentatively as a concept which awaited further careful research before its final confirmation, if that was really to be expected. Certainly the attempt to make every major issue in the development of this nation, especially the growth

¹⁰ "The Shibboleth of the Frontier," *Historical Outlook*, XVI (May 1925), 197.

¹¹ "A Generation of the Frontier Hypothesis," *Pacific Historical Review*, I (March 1933), 37.

of democracy, find its ultimate explanation in the westward movement has not been a successful one, as the lively polemics centered around the frontier hypothesis in recent years are enough to indicate. At the same time, whatever be the merits or demerits of the hypothesis as an all-inclusive formula for the explanation of American history, there can be no doubt, and it is an obvious truism to say so, of the influence it has had in the shaping of American historiography. It has put the West on the historian's map, where before it had been conspicuous largely by its absence, and it has stimulated on a large scale research and authorship in the American history field. An unproved hypothesis, even a disproved one (witness the Ptolemaic), can serve the advancement of science, and this to a notable extent.

Here and there in the past few years the inadequacies of any philosophy of American history which makes no allowance for the play of non-economic forces in making that history what it is have been pointed out. Two instances may be noted. At a conference on the history of the Trans-Mississippi West held at the University of Colorado in June 1929, Dr. Colin B. Goodykoontz discussed the contribution made by the Protestant churches of New England to the frontier movement.¹² He called attention to the efforts made by these churches to control and direct the religious and moral life of the frontier and this mainly through the agency of education. There was in fact a settled policy on the part of both Protestants and Catholics in the country at large to use education as an instrument for serving the needs and promoting the influence of their respective churches.

The Protestant home missionary movement, stemming from the New England states, took shape educationally in two main projects, the dispatch to the frontier areas of women teachers for elementary schools and the establishment of colleges in the same areas. In particular, "the typical small western college usually owed its origin to religious interest and often to missionary zeal."¹³ As to the non-economically minded participants in the frontier movement whose services he recounts, Dr. Goody-

¹² "Protestant Home Missions and Education in the Trans-Mississippi West, 1835-60," in James E. Willard and Colin B. Goodykoontz, *The Trans-Mississippi West: Papers Read at a Conference Held at the University of Colorado, June 18-June 21, 1929*, Boulder, University of Colorado, 1930, 65-86. The content of this paper is elaborated by Dr. Goodykoontz in his volume, *Home Missions on the American Frontier, with Particular Reference to the American Home Missionary Society*, Caldwell, Idaho, 1939.

¹³ Goodykoontz, "Protestant Home Missions . . .," 84.

koontz comments: "They stood for idealism in the midst of materialism."¹⁴

Again, at the thirty-first annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at Indianapolis in 1938, Dr. William W. Sweet of the University of Chicago, discussed "The Cultural and Educational Influence of the Frontier Churches." He criticized what he considered to be a high-handed dismissal of religion as a factor in frontier culture by historians who stress economic interpretations. He emphasized the fact that religion on the frontier was not only a cultural influence in itself, but deeply affected frontier education and the dissemination of literature. "Of 182 permanent colleges established in the United States before 1860, all except twenty-seven were founded by religious groups and even these exceptions were almost all institutions begun with religious cooperation."¹⁵

The part played by the Protestant groups in the Westward Movement was paralleled by the Catholic Church in the same movement. Here again the non-economic, specifically the religious motive, was the dominant one. The Catholic clergy, missionaries, nuns, who moved westward with the advancing lines of settlement did so, not to acquire free land, but to staff the parishes, missions, schools, of the church they represented. The social and cultural contributions they made to the shaping of western society into the distinctive thing it became belong to the imponderables of history. But the imponderables, though they escape measurement by any known standards of dimension and weight, are none the less actualities which have entered and continue to enter into the very soul of history. A significant instance of Catholic missionary effort on the American stage which issued in cultural gains of importance is afforded by the story of the Jesuit Order in the Middle West. The nineteenth-century activities of the Society of Jesus in this area began with the arrival in Missouri in 1823 of a group of missionaries whose main purpose was to labor for the social and religious uplift of the Indians of the Trans-Mississippi West. Their work for the Indians had behind it at its inception the encouraging support of the authorities at Washington, John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, who secured for it a federal appropriation, saying of the first Jesuit workers to be dispatched westward: "It is believed that the missionaries will, besides preparing the way for their

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 86.

¹⁵ *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXV (September 1938), 243-244.

[the Indians'] ultimate civilization, be useful in preventing the commission of outrages and preserving peace with the tribes among which they may fix themselves."¹⁶ The story of the Jesuit missionary penetration of the Trans-Mississippi West gathers chiefly around the colorful figure of Father Peter De Smet. He traversed the Osage Trail as early as 1840 and the graphic accounts which he published of the frontier scene found thousands of readers on both sides of the Atlantic. He was repeatedly an ambassador of peace to the Indians, his services in this connection often yielding the happiest results, so as to elicit official praise from Washington. Thomas Hart Benton wrote of him that his influence with the Indians was worth more than "an army with banners." Probably his outstanding success as negotiator of peace was the Sioux Treaty of 1868, which saw the redoubtable Sitting Bull coming to terms with the government largely through the missionary's intervention. In fine, De Smet's sympathetic biographers, Chittenden and Richardson, have appraised him as "an august figure in our national history."

The most interesting missions sponsored by the western Jesuits were those set up by De Smet in the Pacific Northwest; but scarcely less interesting, probably more fruitful, were those established by his colleagues among the Potowatomi and Osage of Kansas. Yet missionary endeavor among the aborigines came with the years to be less significant in the work of this religious group than educational endeavor in the settled districts of the West. In 1829, six years after their arrival in Missouri, the Jesuits of the West opened an institution which developed into St. Louis University, the first school of university grade in the Trans-Mississippi West. Other colleges were later taken in hand by them, as at Cincinnati in 1840 and Santa Clara, California, in 1851. In the event, some ten institutions of collegiate grade had been established by a body of men, the advance-guard of whom had staged a westward movement of their own when they left their Maryland home to labor among the redmen of the Trans-Mississippi West.¹⁷

But the Jesuits by no means stood alone among the members of their Church in the contribution they made to the development of the West. Catholic missionaries and educators both of the diocesan clergy and of the religious orders and congre-

¹⁶ Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J., *Chapters in Frontier History*, Milwaukee, 1934, 72.

¹⁷ *Id.*, *The Jesuits of the Middle United States*, 3 Volumes, New York, 1938, I, Chapters I-III.

tions in general were busy at work in the frontier area as it advanced towards the setting sun. The aid they lent to the making of the West and through this to the general process of American development, the aid lent to the same end by missionaries and teachers of whatever denomination, are factors which may not be ignored in any attempt to philosophize on the ultimate reasons which made this nation what it is.

GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN

Loyola University, Chicago

Tomás de Guadalajara, Missionary of the Tarahumares

Tomás de Guadalajara was one of the notable missionaries of the southwest of North America in the days when New Spain was the largest unit in the Spanish empire and when its frontier was creeping slowly north. He began his missionary labors in June 1675, eight years before Eusebio Kino, and he survived his Jesuit confrère nine years, dying in the missions in 1720. But while Kino expended his energies to the west in the Pimería, Tomás worked on the eastern slope of the Sierra Madre Occidental, in what is now the state of Chihuahua, among one of the most distinctive groups of Indians in all of North America. Comparable in many respects to the Araucanians of Chile, the Tarahumares are still today a compact group in mountains practically unpenetrated by modern civilization.¹

Father Guadalajara can well be considered the founder of a unified block of missions called Tarahumara Alta, as distinct from the older unit farther south, Tarahumara Baja. Appropriately, he has been called the "great traveler of the sierras," and "the founder of Tarahumara Alta."² The padre was indefatigable; he had a marvelous way with the primitives, universally winning their hearts, his exploits were remarkable and often venturesome, his work was completely successful and wholly constructive.

Father Juan Fonte had made the first contacts with the Tarahumares by his *entrada* of 1608, but the beginnings of his organization were destroyed by the Tepehuan Revolt of 1616, which swept away into martyrdom eight Jesuit missionaries, Fonte among them. Though there were later passing contacts with the Tarahumares, a permanent organization was not set up until Andrés Pérez de Ribas, then Provincial in Mexico City, sent into the country Fathers Gerónimo de Figueroa and José Pascual. These two Jesuits, in 1639, eight years after the founding of Parral, began the mission unit called Tarahumara Baja and later Tarahumara Antigua.³

¹ Cf. Wendell C. Bennett and Robert M. Zingg, *The Tarahumara, An Indian Tribe of Northern Mexico*, Chicago, 1935.

² Gerardo Decorme, *La Obra de los Jesuitas Mexicanos en la Época Colonial*, Mexico City, 1941, II, 234.

³ Relación de José Pascual, Jesuit Archives, Ysleta, Texas.

As for the upper region, beginnings were made among the wilder Tarahumares by the founding of the Spanish Villa de Aguilar and near it a mission on the picturesque banks of the Río Papigochic called the Río Yaqui west of the sierras. Here on the site of the present Ciudad Guerrero a Belgian Jesuit Cornelio Beudin (renamed Godínez by the Spaniards) began a mission in 1649 which for a few months gave bright promise. But there was an uprising and Beudin was slain in June 1650. Another attempt was made the following year to found a mission on the same lovely spot. The Italian Antonio Jácome Basilio labored with high hopes of success, until a second native revolt occurred in 1652. Basilio with numerous Spaniards and loyal Indians was slain while the mission and the Villa de Aguilar were both destroyed.

Such calamities discouraged for the present all further efforts for the evangelization of the northwestern Tarahumares. Two decades passed. In 1673 the governor of Nueva Vizcaya, Don José García de Salcedo, called a meeting in Parral of Spanish frontiersmen, Christian Tarahumar caciques, and Jesuit missionaries. Plans were here laid and energized for another attempt at extending the frontier of Spain and of Christendom into the inhospitable northwest. The impulse thus given was decisive and enduring. Fathers Gamboa and Barrionuevo went north in the fall of 1673; the following year José Tardá was in the field, and in the summer of 1675 Guadalajara inaugurated his splendid career.⁴

Gamboa and Tardá had founded in 1674 a new Christian pueblo one hundred and twenty miles, as the crow flies, northwest of Parral, and sixty miles southwest of the present city of Chihuahua. They named it San Bernabé. It was beyond the Río Conchos and past the headwaters of its largest tributary, the San Pedro, at Cusihiuriáchic, where mines, still being worked, were later discovered. This and the territory around, a vast level plain and rolling hill marked by the single pointed peak of Cusihiuriáchic⁵ descried for miles, was probably the principal residence of Guadalajara, whence he traveled south, west, and northwest into and through the heart of the country of the upper Tarahumares. At times he put up at Santa Ana farther south.

⁴ Cf. Francisco Javier Alegre, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en Nueva España*, Mexico, 1842, II, 463-465, 469-470, 471-476.

⁵ This name is found with at least four different spellings in the sources. Numerous place names in the Tarahumar language end in "chi"; the Spaniards added the final "c."

Shortly after his arrival he and his companion José Tardá tried to cultivate the stubborn tribesmen along the Río Papigochic, a soil which had heretofore "sprouted only the poisonous and murderous weeds of rebellion."⁶ At the pueblo of Papigochic the missionaries were repulsed and some of the inhabitants swore to have the heads of the fathers should they try to enter. Cárichic, southwest and near the headwaters of a branch of the upper Conchos, was likewise cold and unresponsive. The Indians here would allow no father, they said, to come into their village. But Temechic, which even of old had been affectionately attached to the ministrations of Jácome Basilio, received the fathers, who entered among them and viewed the ruined chapel built by Basilio over twenty years before. Unfortunately most of the men were away on a deer hunt, consequently the fathers were invited to return at another time when all would receive the waters of baptism. At the end of August the two padres returned to San Bernabé at Cusihiuiriachic.

A short while afterwards Guadalajara and Tardá were able to procure the cooperation of Don Pablo, an old Christian Tarahumar and cacique of large authority among his tribesmen. Don Pablo had taken part in the conference at Parral two years before, and had then promised to do all in his power to make the missionaries acceptable to his people. He had already facilitated matters much and now his services were again to prove invaluable. The two missionaries determined to win over Papigochic. They took the trail for the day's journey thither accompanied by a band of thirty Christian Tarahumares led by Don Pablo. On the morning of the second day Don Pablo went ahead to visit Papigochic and conciliate the suspicious minds of the natives. He was successful. They would receive the fathers. Indeed, as a gesture of cordiality the men of Papigochic put up *enramadas*, arches of foliage at the entrance to their pueblo. This was the first time that any Black Robe had entered Papigochic since the great rebellion of 1652. In the evening a *tlatole*, or meeting, was held to discuss what the continued attitude and policy of the village ought to be. Though the Indian governor and many of his men favored the fathers, inimical spirits were not wanting. In view of this divided frame of mind it might be dangerous for

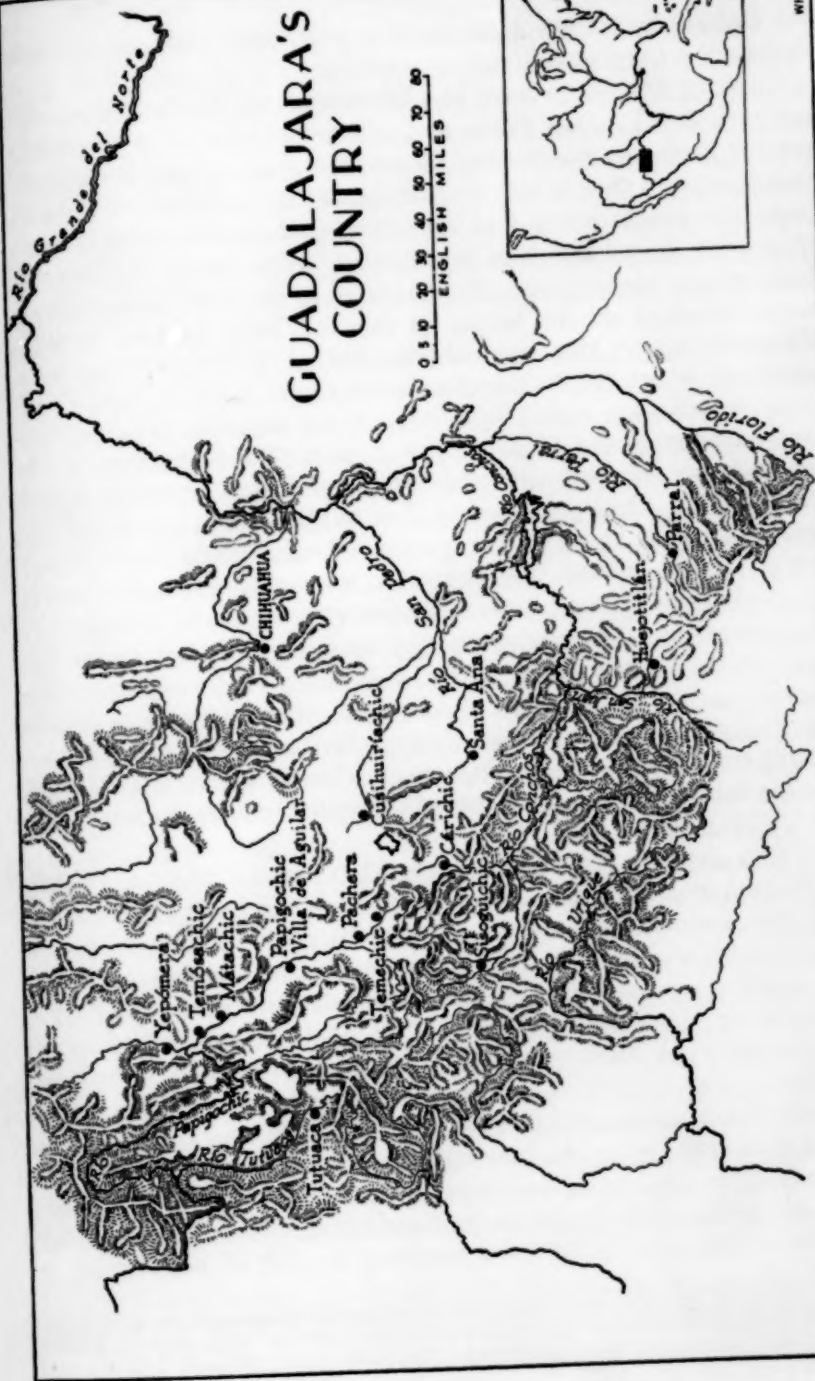
⁶ The details of these early activities are found in a long report to the Provincial Francisco Ximenes, dated February 2, 1676. Cf. Archivo General y Público de la Nación (AGN Mexico), Misiones, t. 26, fol. 216-225. This document is printed in *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, 4th Series, Mexico, 1857, III, 272 ff.

**GUADALAJARA'S
COUNTRY**

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80
ENGLISH MILES



WME



the fathers to tarry longer on this particular visit, so the following day they departed.

Making believe to have lost their way the Black Robes, still accompanied by Don Pablo and his group, visited a *ranchería* not far from the pueblo and discovered many friendly natives.⁷ These averred that it was not dislike for the fathers, but fear of their own people which had kept them from manifesting a spirit of greater friendship. The missionary party continued leisurely downstream visiting one after another of the Tarahumar settlements perched on the banks of the *río* . They passed through Mátachic, which they named San Rafael, and threading up a tributary where the Papigochic turns south, they reached Yepómera, which they called Triunpho de los Angeles, because they arrived here on the feast of the Angels. The fathers were encouragingly received all along this populated district of upper Tarahumara. They performed a few baptisms and returning upstream stopped again at Papigochic. News of their long tour of the country and of the baptisms administered had already reached the pueblo. The natives observing no harm done by the sacrament, and witnessing the joy and happiness of those visited by the padres, were more ready with their welcome. The fathers on their part were encouraged; they named the pueblo La Purísima, and before leaving planted crosses as a promise of return. Thus did Guadalajara and Tardá insert the opening wedge into what was to become the important new mission unit of Tarahumara Alta.

This entrada happened before October 4, 1675, when the fathers dated the first portion of their report to the Provincial. In the meantime, the men of Cárichic, who had but a few months before repulsed the fathers, now sent successive groups to beg for a visit from the padre. They had heard of the happy results of the fathers' visit farther north. Guadalajara after three petitions finally went. He arrived on horseback and received a right royal welcome, of the kind that was repeatedly given the missionaries in these missions. The men of Cárichic had gathered fruits and had killed two lambs to regale him and the Indians who would accompany him. At his approach the Indians came out to lead him to their village. Soon he was busy with baptisms of children—a hundred the day of his arrival. A

⁷ Alegre, II, 473, says that the missionaries dismissed at this point their Indian companions and continued their journey with only an Indian boy. But in this statement he departs from the sense of Guadalajara's own report.

procession was formed of the men and women, many of the former on horseback, the leaders carrying two large crosses. They marched several miles along the arroyo with its flowing stream, tributary of the upper Conchos, to where their huts and *milpas* ended. They erected one of the crosses at the beginning of the march, the other where they halted. The padre, on horseback, occasionally ordered the procession stopped for the recitation of prayers, while on their way back, led by Guadalajara, they tried to chant the ancient and classic Christian hymn, the *Vexilla Regis*.

As the Indians arrived back into their village the crowd began to be carried away with emotion. They shouted, they waved their hands in joy, jumped and frolicked, calling out at the same time "*Gueua garaucu Pare*," "the father is all right." Mounted on his horse, Guadalajara kept riding about, reciting psalms and giving thanks to God. Finally the crowd gradually quieting dispersed singing hymns. The father, moved to tears, promised to live permanently among them some day. But to assure for the present the continuance of the Christian spirit and to help prepare the adults for eventual baptism he appointed from among his followers fiscals and catechists to carry on a simple instruction in the truths of Christianity until his next visit. And before leaving the pueblo he changed its name from Guerucárichi, its longer Tarahumar form, to Jesucárichi, for it was the feast of the Basilica of our Savior.

These good people started to work immediately to build a chapel and a house for the missionary. Within fifteen days a *jacal*, or dwelling made of straw and the branches of trees, was ready to serve as a church. Thus was the beginning of the Christian pueblo of Cárichic. Within three years it would have its resident missionary, Diego de Contreras.⁸ Pícolo would build a beautiful church which Joseph Neumann would further adorn, and which the eighteenth-century Visitor, Juan de Guendolain would style the finest church in all these missions.⁹ The ancient fabric stands today, intact except for the modern roof of tin, and handsome within with its fine double row of bulging pillars. Its entrance looks out over the fertile vale along whose gentle slopes Guadalajara organized his procession, and the old walls

⁸ AGN Mexico, *loc. cit.*, fol. 246, in the *Relación de las Misiones . . .*, which is the noted official report of the Visitor, Juan Ortiz Zapata, made in 1678.

⁹ *Documentos para la Historia Ecclesiástica y Civil*, MS., fol. 491. Cf. also *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, 4th Series, IV, 28.

still hear the catechism explained to little Tarahumares and the murmur of Indian prayer.

Other pueblos soon called for the Black Robes. The men of Napabechic came to petition padres, as did those of Papigochic. Since the Indian governor here had just been baptized a delegation waited upon the fathers asking them to return. One of the fathers did go, but that night in celebration of the event a drunken carousal ensued; the padre's life was seriously threatened, and he had to depart the next day. But it was not long before Father Nicolás Ferrer, a newly arrived missionary, took up his abode at Papigochic.¹⁰

The most difficult of all the journeys was made early in 1676 by Guadalajara and Tardá to the far western edge of the Tarahumar frontier. The leaders at Tutuaca, hearing of the benign exploits of the fathers, had sent a delegation asking such visitors to come to them. The Jesuits decided to make the venturesome journey, ninety miles as the crow flies, but actually well nigh double that distance because of winding trails through the sierras and the ruggedness of those rocky defiles to be traversed. On the way the two missionaries planned to stop again in the pueblos already won over.

The fathers left headquarters, San Bernabé or Santa Ana, a few weeks before Christmas. They went first south to Cárichic where they spent a few days, baptizing and consolidating former success. Then they turned north northwest from the drainage of the Río Conchos over the divide and into the watershed of the Río Papigochic. They visited Tejirachic, passing through Tosa-boreachic, Temechic, and Pachera, reaching Papigochic on the eve of Christmas. They were consoled to celebrate Mass on the very spot where twenty-five years before Beudin had fallen a martyr.

Three days were passed here before the pair turned almost due west, following their Indian guides, to round the great blue sierra which separates the valley of the Río Papigochic from the valley of the Río Tomochic. Continuing west they got into the rugged country where the going was difficult and dangerous. Nor were they impervious to the charm and perhaps to the terror of the scene as they neared the summit of a craggy range, and, like Salvatierra on the Río Urique, they gazed from dizzy heights down the precipitous ribs of the ravines. Here were the headwaters of the Río Tutuaca. "The heights from which we looked

¹⁰ AGN Mexico, *loc. cit.*, fol. 246.

into the abyss," reported the padres, "were so lofty that objects seemed to fade from view and the pines which are immense in the depths of the canyon seemed from the summit to be but the size of a man." Indeed, so perilous were certain portions of the trail that the missionaries suspected the guide of treachery. But Fathers Guadalajara and José Tardá arrived finally, dropping down to the level of the running stream, the Río Tutuaca, on whose banks sat the Indian pueblo of the name. As if in compensation for the perils and sufferings of the journey, the welcome given by the Tutuacs was warm and joyous. They had built a hut for the fathers' lodging and had gathered corn and fruits for their sustenance.

The missionaries almost immediately however had their joyous spirits dashed by unwelcome news. In honor of their arrival these primitives of Tutuaca had gathered jugs of their intoxicating liquor, *tesquino*, and had invited savages from around about to come for the celebration, a debauch of the kind the missionaries had seen before. The fathers protested. Had they known this would be the outcome they would not have entered the village. But the Indians said it was now too late: the guests were invited, the drink was ready. The padres, realizing the height of madness and murderous intent such drink can bring upon the savage, quietly withdrew after dark from the hut which had been given them and spent the night on the rocky ledge of a steep hill nearby, where they thought they would be safe. All night they heard the howls and yells arising from the orgy below. The Jesuits had suspected correctly. The Indians sought them out in their hut, but not finding them became angry and ransacked the little place.

At daylight the two were spied high on their eirie. A delegation, still intoxicated, labored up to them and expressed their chagrin. Why had the fathers fled from the hospitality of Tutuaca? If their people wanted to kill the priests they could do so at any time. They desired only baptism. Guadalajara and Tardá stood their ground and would not descend until the effects of the brawl wore off. After they had waited on their rocky perch until the sun began to sink low over the hills of Sonora another committee came to wait on them. The people were now sober, they said, and since the fathers had come to baptize them, it was a most propitious time to begin, for another quantity of liquor, left untouched, had been got ready for another celebration that night in honor of the baptisms!

Common sense told the missionaries that sheer ignorance of the white man's ways led these primitives of far isolated Tutuaca to indulge thus on such an occasion. It would be better, they reasoned, to act now to avoid a repetition of the orgy. The pair descended from their height and met the cacique and a group of his braves surrounded by a motley crowd. One of the fathers, probably Guadalajara, now spoke: The missionaries had not come to encourage this sort of celebration. Rather had they come to do away with so evil a custom, for it was an offense against the God whose law they had come to preach. It was not fitting for priests to remain in a pueblo where so much sin was committed, nor could the baptisms begin under such conditions. The cacique and the rest of the crowd evinced sincere astonishment at the words. They had not known it was a sin; they would never return to the evil practice. Forthwith dismissing their barbarous guests "from out of town," they gathered the remaining jugs of the fermented juice of the cactus and, like King David of old pouring out upon the ground the water he could not share with his army, these savages made a libation of sacrifice to the God of the Christians whom the fathers were come to tell them of.

Now the real spiritual work could begin. Thirty of the best dispositioned were selected, and in the days that followed were instructed and baptized. These were to be the nucleus of Christianity, who would during the fathers' absence, prepare others of their tribe for the saving waters. They erected a cross at the entrance to the pueblo and promised to build a church. After many days of sojourn here the two Black Robes finally departed, having obtained valuable information concerning the surrounding country and people and resting satisfied that they had planted a seed which, given ordinarily fair conditions, would sprout in this seemingly fertile soil into genuine Christianity. Thus indeed it was. Tardá later was made superior, but Guadalajara kept up a contact with these primitives of the wild, and from his mission made the arduous journey time and time again. The year of Zapata's visitation, 1678, there were officially recorded 126 baptized Indians in Tutuaca and another hundred in near-by pueblos.

The year following the Tutuac *entrada*, 1677, saw Guadalajara at Mátachic. He had been ordered to build up and organize this whole region of the lower Papigochic which he and Tardá had visited with so great success two years before. Certain juris-

dictional difficulties had first of all to be settled with a Franciscan, Fray Alonso de Mesa. As is well known, the Franciscan missionaries preceded the Jesuits into most of this northern country and in the seventeenth century they had mission establishments among the Concho Indians in Nueva Vizcaya bordering Jesuit mission territory to the north and east. Now the Concho missions under Fray Alonso were not far north from where Guadalajara was working. He had baptized in Amiquipa, thirty miles northeast of Yepómera, and when Guadalajara with Tardá visited Yepómera in 1675, he received a letter of protest from Fray Alonso who claimed the village as his preserve.¹¹

Since there were no Conchos in Yepómera, Guadalajara referred the letter to superiors in Mexico City, for it had been understood for decades that the Tarahumares were to be under Jesuit supervision, and Conchos under Franciscan. When the Jesuit went to make his residence in Mátachic he had written to the Franciscan who had replied cordially. The disagreement was considered over, but during an absence of Guadalajara the Conchos had told the Tarahumares that their father would never more return and then tried to persuade the Tarahumares to refuse him admission if he came. Fray Alonso now claimed for his territory all lands north of Río Papigochic. The thing was again taken to Mexico City where the two provincials, Jesuit and Franciscan, had no difficulty in confirming the old arrangement by written agreement: Conchos under Franciscan care, Tarahumares under Jesuit. Nevertheless, Fray Alonso continued the dispute. The alarmed Black Robe saw the Indians becoming disturbed and restless. He feared conflict between the Indian mission groups, or a general uprising against both himself and Alonso, or worse "that my own Indians may murder him or that the hot spirits on the other side may murder me."¹² After Guadalajara's report reached the two provincials we hear no more of the trouble. Things were quiet the following year, when Zapata visited this portion of the Jesuit vineyard, and it is evident that Fray Alonso had either been removed or rebuked by his superiors. Yepómera became a flourishing Jesuit mission although in 1690 it had the doubtful honor of giving martyrdom to Juan Foronda.¹³ The ancient church stands yet today looking down

¹¹ Letter of Guadalajara, July 20, 1677, AGN Mexico, *loc. cit.*, fol. 237 ff.

¹² *Ibid.*, fol. 240.

¹³ Decorme, II, 297, following a report of Father Juan de Estrada, says Foronda fell in Nahuarachic. We follow Father Joseph Neumann who was

the arroyo south towards Río Papigochic and gazing to the east upon the long and lovely valley boxed north and south by its blue sierras.

When Visitor Juan Ortiz Zapata went to Mátachic in 1678 he found that its missionary had done well his work. Guadalajara had organized the region into a *partido*, or group of pueblos, of which Mátachic was the *cabecera*, or head, where he resided. The other pueblos, called *visitas*, he contacted from time to time, saying Mass, visiting his neophytes and baptizing. The *partido* of Mátachic, called Triunfo de los Ángeles, had four pueblos, the *cabecera* and three *visitas*. Mátachic, called San Rafael, had 335 baptized Christians; Yepómera, named San Gabriel, strung for miles along the arroyo, had 118 Christians; the other smaller *visitas*, San Miguel Temósachic and San Pablo Ocomorachic, had 64 and 91 respectively. During the days Visitor Zapata tarried in the district with Guadalajara baptisms were still going on, consequently Zapata could add: "After writing the above, the minister of the said pueblo visiting the settlement [Ocomorachic] in my company has baptized both children and adults, making thus another forty persons." The Visitor recorded the number of Christians in the whole *partido* as 648.¹⁴

Zapata had begun his visitation far south among the Xixime nation. He went north on the eastern slope of the Sierra Madre, thus passing through the Tepehuan and Tarahumar groups. He intended to return south on the western side of the mountains, having crossed the divide near where Papigochic's stream becomes the Yaqui River. His route would take him close to Tutuaca, and his visitation of the Tarahumar missions would not be complete without seeing this pueblo with its growing *visitas*, as Guadalajara had organized it since his first visit two years before. Our indefatigable "traveler of the sierras" had also journeyed into Jova country which lay directly west of Yepómera. No missionary of this district then knew the country so well as Guadalajara. Zapata, therefore, took him as companion on his trip to Tutuaca, over the trail which he termed "a rough and rocky road." He was pleased to find even in this isolated section between Tutuaca and its dependent pueblos 226 baptized Indians.

Now, the Indians of the Jova nation, hearing that the Visitor was at Tutuaca, sent delegations to him, begging him to visit

on the ground. He states in two different places, *Historia Seditio-num* . . . , Chapter III, and in his letter of July 6, 1693, that Foronda was killed in Yepómera.

¹⁴ Zapata's *relación*, *loc. cit.*, fol. 249.

their country and to give them permanent missionaries. They wanted especially Father Guadalajara to come regularly to see them. The Visitor gave them what encouragement he could, whereupon they returned to their hills and river-banks, writes the Visitor, to raise crosses in their pueblos, to choose fiscals, and to build chapels for the divine service. He added significantly:

In fact, after I had written the above narrative, Father Tomás de Guadalajara, missionary at San Rafael Mátachic, made in my company a visitation of the *partido* of Tutuaca and then proceeded as far as the *partido* of Sahuaripa. We then returned by the lands of the Jova nation. Arrived back at his *partido* he drew up a report of this visitation, together with the things he had done and the arrangements he had made. . . .¹⁵

So then, these two Black Robes, Visitor and missionary, traveled the sixty miles (as the crow flies) northwest from Tutuaca to Sahuaripa, which belonged to the West Coast missions. On the way back to Tarahumara Guadalajara baptized some dozens of Jovas living in their more eastern pueblos, for the western Jovas were cared for by Jesuits of the coast missions. He gathered the Christians of these parts together into three pueblos nearer the Tarahumar frontier where he could the more easily attend them until their own padre could arrive. Hence our missionary, after establishing his own *partido* of Mátachic, and one at Tutuaca, now laid the foundations of a third among the eastern Jova nation. He thus forged the last link which connected the mission system of the eastern slope of the mountains with the system of the West Coast. Beginning in the west in 1591, in the east in 1598, and blending from the start south among the Xixime and Acaxée nations, these two groups of missions on each slope of the Sierra Madre, ran from the south now to meet in the north, completing an oval formation. The separation of the center was effected by the vast and lofty ranges of the great cordillera. When Zapata departed to inspect the western missions, Tomás de Guadalajara continued on at Mátachic, rounding out the baptisms of his *partido*, and keeping in touch with Tutuaca and with his more recently organized Jovas. Interesting things now came into the life of Padre Tomás before he left the missions to go south to Parral in 1684 or 1685.

Guadalajara had given such an impulse to Tarahumar Christianity from 1675 on that the earlier Visitor, Bernabé Gutiérrez,

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

had in 1676 urged the multiplication of missionaries for this apostolate. In 1677 four padres came up to Tarahumara Alta and in 1681 two more. These last were the Hungarian nobleman, Johann Ratkay, who was sent to Cárichic, and the German, Joseph Neumann, who was ordered to Sisoguichic.

Now some of these new arrivals had not pronounced their final vows in the Society of Jesus. This, then, had to be done in the missions. The time was fixed for the feast of the Assumption of Blessed Mary the Virgin, August 15, 1681, and the place was to be Mátachic. Neumann was the first to arrive and Father Guadalajara welcomed him warmly. Later four other Jesuits came, including the Father Visitor. Ratkay remained at central Cárichic to guard the routine of order. Spaniards came, too, to grace and enjoy the occasion; Captain García, an old friend of Guadalajara, with his sons, made a three days' journey to be there. On the eve of the feast bands of Tarahumares trudged in with their Indian governors from outlying pueblos.

Under these circumstances Guadalajara gave demonstration of those qualities which won for him such high prestige among Spaniards and primitives alike. It had been almost a famine year. Father Tomás, therefore, ordered three beeves killed and prepared for a feast in the evening, much to the joy of the Indian neophytes who devoured the meat and made merry. There was music, too, since Guadalajara had trained a skillful choir of Indian boys and the Father Visitor had brought with him three or four musicians. Thus vespers were chanted on the eve of the great day and the choir added to the ceremony of the Mass in the morning.

When the religious services were finished the Indians and guests again gathered around Guadalajara's festive board. The Tarahumar Governor of Mátachic staged for the entertainment of the fathers an exhibition of Indian horsemanship. On the plain which rises from the banks of the Río Papigochic, fifty Tarahumares, excellently mounted, deployed, galloped, and raced on the broad level; they evolved and configured on horseback, concluding their daredevil riding with a sham battle. Games consumed the whole afternoon. Nor was this all. The Indians celebrated throughout the night; they sang, they shouted, they danced. There was little sleep for the padres that night, while on the morrow they had to depart and the fiesta was over.¹⁶

¹⁶ Neumann's letter of February 2, 1682, Bolton Collection, Bancroft Library, Berkeley.

Guadalajara was now made superior of the whole mission unit of Tarahumara Alta.

Not long after these events clouds began to cast their shadow upon the serenity of the missionary's life at Mátachic. The padre began to notice signs of disaffection among his Indians. They discontinued coming for their customary instructions; they disobeyed his commands. They began to indulge openly and unashamed in the forbidden strong drink. Reports came in of large quantities of darts and arrows being made by many. Guadalajara was filled with the gravest apprehensions, especially when loyal Indians brought word that there was intent among a group of the disaffected to murder their padre and make off to the hills and mountains. Then an Indian woman hurried to him in trepidation and bade him flee, for within three days the fires of revolt would break out and spread.

This was enough. Guadalajara departed from his pueblo and traveled in haste southeast towards Parral, for he considered his whole *partido* to be on the verge of an uprising. He was probably not actuated by personal fear. Such as he were of the stuff of martyrs. But it was another matter rashly to expose one's life, and missionaries were hard to replace. His subsequent orders to his men showed that he had this in view. And he surely knew of the great rebellion in New Mexico little over two years before, in which twenty-one friars and hundreds of other Spaniards were slain. Passing through Papigochic, where the Belgian Juan Bautista Copart was resident, Guadalajara, though superior, seems to have left flight to the padre's own discretion. Copart followed shortly, however, upon himself receiving reports of impending murder and rebellion.

Soon Guadalajara sent orders to all the fathers to leave their respective mission pueblos and concentrate in San Francisco de Borja, a safe place in the wide plains of the east. Neumann came all the way in from Sisoguichic, surprised at the order, for he had noticed nothing. Nor did anything occur, nor did minute questionings of Indian governors from various pueblos reveal either revolt or plot. Neumann thought Guadalajara to be unduly alarmed, for, he wrote, even the governor of Mátachic "defended himself so skillfully and was so successful in explaining everything by the malevolence of certain foreigners, that he practically cleared both himself and the people of his mission from every charge, and left us wondering whether there was even a slight danger of the kind that the Father Rector [Guada-

lajara] had imagined."¹⁷ This skepticism about his judgment was a new trial for the rector.

But Guadalajara had not been mistaken. Father Nicolás de Prado in the far-off mountains of the Guazápar region belonging to the west enclosed in a letter to Neumann the key to the secret. One Carosia, rebel Guazápar chief, had tried but only partly succeeded in corrupting the neophytes contiguous to the *partido* of Mátachic, which approaches to the south the Guazápar region. The storm blew over, therefore, and soon all the padres and Indian governors went back to their respective missions. Neumann later converted rebel Carosia, and Mátachic remained a flourishing mission, residence of the superiors. It is today a quiet Mexican village, while the great ruins of its ancient church attest the spiritual vitality of its mission past.

During these very years Father Guadalajara was busy as a literary man and scholar. He wrote a grammar and dictionary of both the Tarahumar and Guazápar languages and their allied dialects. This was published in Puebla as early as 1683.¹⁸ Guadalajara thus joined the ranks of those other Jesuit missionaries to whom scholarship owes so great a debt, who "gained neophytes in places . . . where none of their compatriots had dared to set foot; [and who] preached and spoke in tongues of which no man born in the west understood a single word."¹⁹

The missionary days of Father Tomás were temporarily ended about 1685 when he was summoned south to Parral to take the superiorship of the Jesuit house there. Again his gift of winning friends and universal affection manifests itself. A wealthy citizen of Parral, a Portuguese, Don Luis de Simois, became so attached to the father that he donated a sum large enough for the Superior to begin the construction of the long-desired college in this northern mining town. So, Guadalajara was financed to build his college. The institution had a long career. After the expulsion of the Jesuits the building was used for various purposes and finally transformed. But the ancient shell stands yet in the old mining town off the Calle del Colegio, and the great wall of the apse looks down today on the Río del Parral.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Compendio del Arte de la Lengua de los Tarahumares y Guazapares . . . Año de 1683.* Cf. Carlos Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Brussels-Paris, 1890, III, col. 1897.

¹⁹ Lord Babington Macaulay, "Essay on Ranke's *History of the Popes*," *Edinburgh Review*, XIX (October 1840), 4.

No better illustration could be given of the success of this Jesuit missionary, "great traveler of the sierras" and "founder of Tarahumara Alta," than by referring to the words of an earlier official Visitor to Tarahumara Alta, just when this mission unit was taking definite shape thanks to the energies and the successes of Guadalajara. Father Bernabé Francisco Gutiérrez made an official report of what he saw under date of April 28, 1676. He writes in part:

Fathers José Tardá and Tomás Guadalajara are so ardent in their enthusiasm that the country seems to them an all too narrow place for their zeal. . . . It is impossible to describe the love and veneration the Indians have for the fathers. They are especially enthusiastic over Father Guadalajara whom God has reserved for his great glory in these lands.²⁰

And the Visitor goes on to expatiate upon the friendly and conciliatory personality of Father Tomás. Just two years later Visitor Zapata, speaking of the men and women of Mátachic, said that they had for their father a wonderful affection, and even the humble padre himself once remarked that the men of Papi-gochic seemed to love him greatly.

The available records do not disclose the length of time the now aging missionary lived in the mining town of Parral. If it was a wound to his spirit to be ordered from his beloved Tarahumares and his mission district of the north, the wound healed no doubt with time, while his spirit was later consoled, for he was ordered back to the mission, back to the direction of his Tarahumar children. Thirty miles west of Parral is a fertile vale watered by an arroyo which runs into the Río de San Juan. Here sits the little Mexican village of Huexotitlán, given permanence to by the ancient Jesuit mission of San Gerónimo. In this quiet spot Figueroa, founder of Tarahumara Baja, had lived for almost thirty years and here Guadalajara was to come to pass his declining days and to die, completing his fifty-second year as a Jesuit. The ancient church still stands, scarred and grey with time. In its quiet courtyard in 1720 our benign and valiant missionary was laid to rest. A tombstone with an inscription now worn with age marks the hallowed spot where long ago the missionary's mortal vesture was placed beneath the sod.

PETER M. DUNNE

University of San Francisco

²⁰ AGN Mexico, *loc. cit.*, fol. 225.

Pénicaut and His Chronicle of Early Louisiana*

THE MANUSCRIPTS

André Pénicaut was born at La Rochelle about 1680. A carpenter by trade, he embarked with Iberville on his first expedition to Louisiana in 1698. He left to posterity a narrative describing the discovery of the mouth of the Mississippi River by sea and a year-by-year account of the events which occurred during his stay in the colony to the year 1721.¹ His account, as the only extant continuous history of Louisiana told by a contemporary, would, supposedly, furnish a valuable source to those who have concerned themselves about the French foundations on the Gulf coast and the exploration of the great river. However, indications of muddled chronology, misstatements, and confused sequences have given rise to suspicions as to the trustworthiness of Pénicaut, and consequently, the only way to establish the value of his relation is by checking his statements with other available contemporary materials.

In his *Avertissement au Lecteur* the annalist informs his readers that his narrative is a yearly account of the events which took place while he was in the colony. However, his mistakes in chronology make it evident that the author was writing from memory or from very scanty notes. A seemingly straightforward, honest individual, his misstatements and muddled sequence of events seem to be the result of a failing memory and not a deliberate attempt to falsify or to befuddle.

The time limit of the present article will cover only the years from 1698 to 1704, although the complete narrative extends to

* This article is an abstract of the author's Master of Arts thesis. Editor.

¹ The complete title of Pénicaut's narrative reads as follows: "Relations ou annales véritables de ce qui s'est passé dans le pays de la Louisiane pendant vingt-deux années consécutives, depuis le commencement de l'établissement des françois dans le pais, par M. d'Iberville, et M. le comte de Surgère en 1699 continue jusqu'en 1721, ou il est fait mention des guerres des françois contre les Sauvages, et des Sauvages entre eux; du commerce des françois avec les Sauvages, et des Sauvages entre eux du cours et de l'étendu du Mississipi, des rivières qui tombent dans ce fleuve, des mines, de la religion et des moeurs des sauvages, de leurs obsèques; des concessions qu'y possèdent à présent les françois, avec l'histoire galante d'un capitaine françois et la fille d'un capitaine de cavalerie espagnole du Mexique." P. Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements des Français dans l'ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, 6 vols., 1876-1888 (hereinafter quoted as Margry), IV, 689.

1721. An examination of this first section, however, will give sufficient evidence concerning the unreliable character of the narrative. Moreover the year 1704 marks a natural division in the events of the Louisiana colony. Two years previously Mobile had been founded, Iberville had made his last visit to the colony; and for all practical purposes, Bienville had assumed the leadership of the struggling settlement on the Gulf coast.

The geographical area included in this article embraces the Gulf of Mexico from the mouth of the Mississippi to Mobile Bay and the course of the Mississippi from its mouth to the Arkansas River. Actually, the travels of the chronicler were more extensive than the geographical limits set herein, for he accompanied a mining expedition up the Mississippi as far as the present state of Minnesota, but the description of this trip is outside the scope of the present analysis.

Pénicaud's primary motive in writing his story was to raise money, for at the time of writing, he was getting blind; therefore to give his work human appeal he devoted much space to the romance of St. Denis. Because his handwriting was nothing more than a childish scrawl and because of his infirmity the author very likely dictated his relation to a professional copyist. A copy of his chronicle was sent to Diron Dartaguiette² to whom it was dedicated.³ Dartaguiette in turn gave this relation to Charlevoix.⁴ When the French Jesuits were suppressed in 1763 among the manuscripts sold at auction was the "Relations de la Louisiane, depuis 1699, jusqu'en 1721, par Pénicaud."⁵ It is probable, although not as yet certain, that it was this copy which was ultimately deposited in the Paris archives.

Be that as it may, there are three extant copies of the "Annals of Louisiana." The one printed in Margry⁶ is copied from

² There were three Dartaguiettes who served the Louisiana colony during the year 1710 to 1732, cf. C. W. Alvord, *The Illinois Country, 1673-1818*, Springfield, Illinois, 1920, I, 173, and the cyclopedia *Louisiana* edited by Alcée Fortier, 2 vols., Atlanta, 1909, I, 335. These authors list two of the Dartaguiettes as brothers and one as the son of one of the brothers. All three, however, were brothers, and it is to Bernard Diron Dartaguiette, who came to Louisiana in 1717, to whom Pénicaud dedicated his relation.

³ Margry, V, 698.

⁴ P. F. X. de Charlevoix, *Histoire et Description Générale de la Nouvelle France avec le Journal Historique d'un Voyage fait par ordre du Roi dans l'Amérique Septentrionale*, 3 vols., Paris, 1744, vol. I, lx-lxi.

⁵ *Catalogus Manuscriptorum Codicum Collegii Claromontani*, Paris, 1764, p. 314, n. DCCCXXVIII. An interesting example of the manner in which Jesuit libraries were confiscated, listed, and archived is given by William Kane "The End of a Jesuit Library," *MID-AMERICA*, XXIII, 1941, 190-213.

⁶ Pénicaud's narrative, Margry, V, 375-586.

the manuscript on deposit in the Archives at Paris.⁷ The second is in the Municipal Library at Rouen. A copy of this Rouen manuscript, made for Gabriel Gravier, is now in the Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library, Chicago. A third copy was purchased by the American Consul General in Paris in 1870 and given to Francis Parkman, as explained in a letter to the historian by the donor. This Parkman manuscript, together with the explanatory letters, is at present in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, and a film of the same is now available at Loyola University, Chicago.

A collation of the Paris manuscript with the Margry reproduction was made by the Library of Congress, and this collation was secured for the purpose of comparison. Hence, for all practical purposes, the writer can say that she had access to the text of the Paris manuscript itself; but the actual Rouen manuscript was not consulted.⁸ The supposition, however, is that this was made either by François Bouet or for him by a copyist.

In order to have as accurate a text of Pénicaut's narrative as possible a comparison was made of the three available manuscripts. Margry's printed reproduction was used as the basic text. This was checked, first, against the collation of the Paris manuscript made by the Library of Congress, secondly against the filmed Parkman copy, and finally, against the Gravier copy of the Rouen manuscript which is in the Newberry Library. Other than differences in capitalization, spelling, and word arrangements within sentences, all attributable to idiosyncracies of copyists or the editor, the facts narrated in the three manuscripts are the same, at least as far as the events up to the year 1704 are concerned. The differences and similarities in the spelling of Indian names argue strongly in favor of the priority of the Paris manuscript, and lead to the belief that the Boston manuscript was made from the Rouen copy. Consequently, it is probably safe to conclude that the relation contained in Margry, at

⁷ Bibliothèque Nationale (BN), Manuscript français, 14613.

⁸ Were it not for the troubled conditions in France at the present time, this manuscript could have been filmed and the handwriting compared with Bouet's signature on a map made and signed by him which is now in the Newberry Library, Ayer Collection. "Carte De la Louisiane et du cours du Mississipy sur la Relation d'André Pénicaut," by François Bouet, 1721. Although this map purports to be drawn from the information contained in Pénicaut's narrative, it does not follow the relation very closely nor does it show the numerous geographical land marks described by the author. Many of the contemporary and even earlier maps are much more detailed. However, lacking this Rouen manuscript it was not possible to determine how faithfully Gravier's copy was made.

least as far as the section considered in this article is concerned, is substantially as Pénicaud narrated it.

IBERVILLE'S FIRST VOYAGE

For more than ten years after the tragic attempt of La Salle to reach the mouth of the Mississippi by sea, France did nothing to explore, exploit, or colonize the vast territory over which dominion was claimed by reason of the explorer's descent of the great river. Continental wars kept the French occupied, but with the Peace of Ryswick in 1697, the crown again turned its attention to the colonial empire in North America. Louis XIV feared the encroachments of the rival English power.⁹

English interest in the Mississippi region had been whetted by the recently published account of Father Hennepin's, *The New Discovery of a Vast Country in America*, brought out in 1697 and dedicated to the British sovereign, William III. The Recollect's book popularized the fact that Louisiana could be reached by sea and by the Mississippi, and soon news reached France that the English were actively preparing to take advantage of Hennepin's suggestions. To anticipate the English, the French Crown appointed Pierre Le Moynes d'Iberville commander of an expedition to find the mouth of the Mississippi by sea, to hold it and the adjacent country in the name of France, and to investigate its commercial possibilities. Both the English and the French expeditions sailed in October 1698. The English, however, navigated to Carolina and remained off the coast of Charleston for the winter, only proceeding to the Gulf of Mexico in May 1699.¹⁰

Pénicaud begins his narrative with this first Iberville expedition. From the start, he manifests confused ideas in reporting details. He entered the King's service on board the *Cheval Marin*,¹¹ commanded by Count de Surgères, which, he claims, was a companion ship to the *Renommée*, thus indicating in his opening

⁹ Margry, IV, iv-xxxvi, discusses the activities which lead to the colonization of Louisiana and the influence exerted upon the Crown urging this project. Cf. also Jean Delanglez, S. J., *The French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana, 1700-1763*, Washington, D. C., 1935, 4-6.

¹⁰ Delanglez, *French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana*, 6. For an account of the English version of these activities cf. D. Coxe, *Description of the English Province of Carolana, by the Spaniards call'd Florida, and by the French La Louisiane*, London, 1727.

¹¹ Generally referred to merely as the *Marin*, but the proper title was the *Cheval Marin*. It is thus referred to in an entry of August 19, 1699, Pontchartrain to Duguay, in N. M. Surrey, *Calendar of Manuscripts in the Paris Archives and Libraries relating to the History of the Mississippi Valley to 1803*, 2 planograph vols., Washington, D. C., 1926-1928, I, 55.

statements his uncertainty when recalling these early facts, for actually this latter vessel was commanded by Iberville on his two subsequent voyages. The *Badine* was the flag ship on the first trip. His confusion is likewise apparent when he reports the date and port of the expedition's departure, for he narrates that they sailed from La Rochelle in October, whereas, the date of departure from La Rochelle was September 5, 1698. However, adverse winds carried the expedition to Brest, whence they sailed on October 24.¹² These inaccuracies, although not important in themselves, show that all Pénicaut's statements must be critically examined before they can be accepted. The chronicler combines accurate facts with the inaccurate facts and before his relation can be relied upon, his statements must be checked against other contemporary sources. In general, the facts he narrates are true, but very often his sequence is awry; sometimes he omits important geographical details; and in one case invents a fourth voyage which has absolutely no foundation in reality. The most outstanding of these mistakes will be pointed out in this article.

The expedition's arrival at Santo Domingo is entered in the "Annals of Louisiana" in a very general manner.¹³ Neither the date of landing nor the first port of call are given. Iberville docked at Cap François, today Cap Haitien, Santo Domingo, on December 4, 1698, and although changing ports, he did not sail for the Louisiana coast until December 31. Pénicaut gives the date as the feast of St. Thomas,¹⁴ thus shortening the stay in Santo Domingo from twenty-seven to eleven days. The omission of Iberville's complicated activities while at Santo Domingo is not important. However, he could not have known much about the acquisition of the famous filibuster, Laurent de Graff, as

¹² The expedition was scheduled to depart from La Rochelle, Pontchartrain to Begon, July 16, 1698, Margry, IV, 70, but the ultimate departure was from Brest on October 24, and both the log of the *Marin*, *ibid.*, 213, and Iberville's letters designate Brest as the port of departure. Iberville to Pontchartrain, December 19, 1698, *ibid.*, 87. If Pénicaut considered La Rochelle as the port of departure, he should have given the date as of September 5, 1698, and not October, as he does.

¹³ Pénicaut's narrative, *ibid.*, V, 375.

¹⁴ There are two feasts of St. Thomas in December: the first of St. Thomas the Apostle, on December 21; and the second of St. Thomas à Becket, on December 29. In France at this time the feasts of the Apostles were holydays of obligation and for this reason Pénicaut would more easily remember the feast on the 21st. Shea, 118, n. 5, correcting Charlevoix says that Pénicaut, writing from memory gives the date of departure from Santo Domingo as December 29, although he has no more evidence for giving the date as the 29th than the 21st. P. F. X. de Charlevoix, S. J., *History and General Description of New France*, translated with notes by John Gilmary Shea, 6 vols., New York, 1871, V, 118.

pilot; and it was the knowledge and services rendered by de Graff which enabled the explorer to take such an accurate and sure course.¹⁵

Pénicaud's relation of the movements of the expedition after reaching the Gulf coast shows so many omissions, distortions, and abbreviations as to render his account practically worthless. Iberville's course, after rounding the western point of Cuba,¹⁶ was practically due north. He sighted land east of Pensacola on January 24.¹⁷ Sailing west he carefully explored every indentation as he went along so as not to miss, by any chance, the mouth of the river he was sent to discover. His log contains descriptions of the bays at Pensacola and Mobile, the discovery and naming of Massacre Island (today Dauphin Island), and the search for a suitable anchorage off Biloxi. Omitting all such details Pénicaud recounts that the expedition sailed directly from Santo Domingo to the anchorage between Cat and Ship Islands which he asserts was discovered on January 6. Actually this roadstead was not sighted until February 9, 1699.

The annalist's omission of a geographical description of the coast from Pensacola to Biloxi is serious, because this was the first official French exploration of the region. Iberville's observations concerning the location and topography of Pensacola and Mobile Bays were of utmost importance to the French during the next few years, Pensacola because of their attempt to secure it from the Spaniards, and Mobile because of the establishment of the French colony there.

As important as the geographical details are, however, the annalist's most serious omission is Iberville's discovery of the mouth of the Mississippi, which was the prime purpose of the expedition. The "Annals of Louisiana" recount in rapid succession the selection for the site of a fort, the erection of Fort Bi-

¹⁵ Chasteaumorant, captain of the ship which convoyed Iberville through the Gulf not only identifies de Graff, but also explains his importance to Iberville in aiding the explorer to find the mouth of the Mississippi. Chasteaumorant writes: "M. de Graff, capitaine de frégate légère estoit embarqué avec moy; il m'a esté d'un très grand secours; outre que c'est un parfaitement bon matelot, il connoist toutes les roches et tous les ports de ce pays là, jusques a l'entrée du Mexique, y ayant toute sa vie fait la course." Chasteaumorant to Pontchartrain, June 1699, Margry, IV, 103-104.

¹⁶ On January 15, Iberville rounded Cabo San Antonio, the westernmost point of Cuba. He calculated his longitude from this point which is 84° 55' west of Greenwich; log of the *Badine*, *ibid.*, 138.

¹⁷ Log of the *Badine*, *ibid.*, 141. The point where he sighted land Iberville called Cap Blanc (or Cap du Sable). Judging from the scale on Delisle's map of 1702, "Carte du Mexique de la Floride et des terres en Amerique avec les Isles Adjacentes," Archives Nationales (AN), JJ 75-253, it is located approximately fifteen leagues east of Pensacola Bay.

loxi at present day Ocean Springs,¹⁸ and the departure of Iberville for France, thus failing to include the leader's exploration of the river as high as the Huma village.¹⁹ Only the haziness which is almost inevitable when trying to recall distant events can account for Pénicaut's failure to relate such an important fact, for there are indications that he was a member of Iberville's party which discovered the mouth of the river, since he shows more than a chance knowledge of these details although he confuses them with those pertaining to Iberville's second exploration.

Pénicaut credits the discovery of the Mississippi to Bienville who led a party of explorers to the river during the interval between the first and second voyages of his brother. Bienville's route, however, which Pénicaut correctly describes, was not by way of the mouth of the river, but by way of Lake Pontchartrain, and therefore, according to the account in the "Annals of Louisiana," the mouth of the Mississippi actually remained undiscovered until Iberville's second voyage. Thus the chronicler fails to note a very significant historical point. Since La Salle had been unable to find the mouth of the Mississippi by sea, it was Iberville's explicit task to do so.²⁰ Accordingly, the explor-

¹⁸ Named after the Biloxi Indians whom Iberville encountered on February 15, 1699, in the vicinity of Biloxi Bay. Iberville himself did not give the fort this name and in the log of the *Badine* it is designated as the fort at the Bay of Biloxi. Its official name was *Fort de Maurepas* and was called thus by Iberville in his "Mémoire de la Coste de la Floride et d'une Partie du Mexique," Margry, IV, 313, as well as in Iberville's letter to Pontchartrain, August 11, 1699, *ibid.*, 328. After this date, however, the official letters refer to said fort as the "Fort des Biloxis," *ibid.*, 335, 336, 337, 339. Cf. Delanglez, *French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana*, 5, n. 33.

¹⁹ Iberville discovered the mouth of the Mississippi on March 2, 1699. He ascended the river first to the village of the Bayougoula Indians, and not satisfied that he had definite proof that he was actually exploring the Mississippi, he continued as high as the Huma village. He retraced his steps until he reached the entrance to a river, a little above the Bayougoula village on the east bank of the Mississippi, which later bore his name. Later it was renamed Manchac. Descending this river with a small party—the remainder were sent to the roadstead by way of the river's mouth—and after making numerous portages, he came to Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain. Passing through these lakes, he reached the Gulf and returned to the anchorage on March 31.

²⁰ It was rather difficult to find the mouth of the river by sea, for its appearance was not as imposing as at first expected. The Spaniards, as a matter of fact, found the mouth of the river so unimposing, they could not believe that this was the famous river over which three nations were vying for possession, and they did not even try to enter because "of the great quantity of trees and driftwood which choked its mouth." William Edward Dunn, *Spanish and French Rivalry in the Gulf Region of the United States, 1678-1702*, Austin, Texas, 1917, 62. Iberville described its entrance as cluttered with petrified wood and rocks, its current swift and loaded with floating trees, log of the *Badine*, Margry, IV, 162.

er's accomplishment was most noteworthy, and his geographical descriptions and observations were of vital interest to the French court of that period.

By May 1 the fort at Biloxi was practically completed and Iberville left for France two days later. Pénicaut's list of the officers appointed to serve the fort include Sauvolle,²¹ commandant; Boisbriand,²² major; Bienville,²³ with no specific title; the Jesuit Father Paul Du Ru, chaplain. This enumeration furnishes another example of the author's confused memory, for the said major and chaplain only came to Louisiana on Iberville's second voyage; the incumbents at this time were Levasseur-Roussel and M. Bordenavé.²⁴

During the interval between Iberville's first and second voyages Bienville headed several exploratory expeditions. These are recounted in the "Annals of Louisiana" with a good deal of accuracy as to many details, but the sequence is characteristically muddled.²⁵ The most glaring mistake in chronology, however, concerns Bienville's encounter with the English frigate a hundred miles up the Mississippi at present-day English Turn on Sep-

²¹ Many authors erroneously claim that Sauvolle was Iberville's brother, cf. Delanglez, *French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana*, 7, n. 44.

²² Pierre Dugué, sieur de Boisbriant, a Canadian, was a cousin of Iberville's, cf. Alvord, I, 153.

²³ Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville was born in 1680. He was made garde-marine in 1692. Gardes-marine were "midshipmen," or young men selected by the King to be trained in the navy; D. Rowland and A. G. Sanders, editors, *Mississippi Provincial Archives, French Dominion*, 3 vols., hereinafter referred to as MPA, Jackson, Mississippi, 1927-1931, II, 41, n. 1. He served with his brother on the Hudson Bay expedition, and was not yet twenty years of age when he sailed from France on the Louisiana expedition. From 1704 to 1726 he was the most prominent figure in Louisiana colonial history. In 1733 he was appointed governor of that colony and died March 7, 1767.

²⁴ Log of the *Badine*, Margry, IV, 196. Father Anastasius who had accompanied La Salle on his expeditions also served as chaplain on Iberville's first voyage, but by the end of this expedition, the Recollect was weary of the mission field and asked to return to France with the explorer, stating that he never again wished to leave his convent. M. Bordenave was the chaplain from the *Badine*, and remained with the colony until the arrival of Father Du Ru.

²⁵ Sauvolle's letter of May 1, 1700, Margry, IV, 451, states that on June 9, 1699, he sent a group to reconnoiter Mobile Bay. Pénicaut recounts this eastward exploration, but makes no reference to the sounding of Mobile Bay; in fact the chronicler fails to make any reference to Mobile Bay until the colony was established there in 1702. The second expedition which went to the Pascagoula village took place during the latter part of June (*ibid.*, 451), although the chronicler post-dates it by two months, thus confounding it even in his own narrative with Bienville's expedition to the Mississippi, which also occurred toward the end of August; *ibid.*, 455. Bay St. Louis, Pénicaut narrates, received its name in honor of the feast of St. Louis, celebrated on August 25, the day upon which Bienville's expedition camped there on its way to the Mississippi River.

tember 15, 1699.²⁶ Pénicaut, although correct with reference to other details of the encounter, states that the meeting occurred during Iberville's second voyage, describing an erroneous set of circumstances in order to make his account plausible.

IBERVILLE'S SECOND VOYAGE

The return of Iberville early in January 1700²⁷ brought new energy to the struggling colony at Biloxi. The chronicler's account of this second voyage is important because it contains his first and only description of the lower course of the Mississippi and identification of the landmarks along its banks. In itself, his description, the identification of places, the estimation of distances, and the names of participants are quite accurate, but, typically, the sequence in which he relates the events of the second voyage is unreliable and utterly confused.

Besides Iberville's letters and the log of the *Renommée* there are two extant journals which furnish important documentary means of comparison. The first is the letter written by Le Sueur²⁸ from the Natchez village, April 4, 1700;²⁹ and the second is the journal of Father Paul Du Ru, the Jesuit missionary, covering the period from February 1 to May 8, 1700.³⁰ These documents supply valuable information by which to test Pénicaut's chronicle, and enable the historian to piece together the story as the annalist should have told it.

The cause of Pénicaut's greatest confusion concerning this voyage is due to the fact that he recounts two independent, but

²⁶ English Turn is about eighteen miles below New Orleans or about 100 miles from the Gulf, Delanglez, *French Jesuits*, 6; cf. "Tonti Letters," *MID-AMERICA*, XXI, 1939, 215, n. 1. The bend in the river, where the little French detachment met the English man-of-war was named *Détour des Anglais* or *Détour aux Anglais*. For an enumeration of the various dates given by the contemporary writers for this event, cf. Delanglez, *French Jesuits*, 6, n. 43.

²⁷ Iberville landed at Ship Island on January 8, Iberville to Pontchartrain, February 26, 1700, Margry, IV, 361; log of the *Renommée*, *ibid.*, 395. Pénicaut gives the date as January 5 (la veille des Rois), 1700. Perhaps he was not relying entirely upon his memory when narrating this event, but upon hasty jottings which he claimed to have made throughout his stay in the colony, for his dating of this second voyage is more accurate than that of the first journey.

²⁸ Pierre-Charles Le Sueur (b. 1657), a Canadian fur trader, received a mining concession in the Upper Mississippi Valley in 1698, which was revoked a year later. He returned to France, had his license renewed and joined Iberville's expedition the following year. Alvord, I, 114 and 129.

²⁹ "Extrait d'une Lettre du Sieur Lesueur qui est allé faire un établissement sur des mines du cuivre à 5 ou 600 lieues dans le Mississippi. Aux Natchez sur le Mississippi le 4 Avril 1700," Bibliothèque Nationale. Manuscrit français, nouvelles acquisitions (BN, Mss. fr. n. a.), 21395:5-11v.

³⁰ *Journal of Paul Du Ru*, translated by Ruth Lapham Butler, The Caxton Club, Chicago, 1934.

simultaneous trips, as though he were a member of both. The first is Iberville's trip up the river, in which he claims to have participated, and the second is Le Sueur's expedition to the copper mine in Minnesota, which he mistakenly places at the conclusion of Iberville's second voyage, and in which he actually participated.

Consequently his narrative of Iberville's exploration of the river is quite full of inaccuracies. In some instances he confounds Iberville's first and second trips up the Mississippi, attributing to this second voyage facts that actually occurred on the first.³¹ In other cases his statements are erroneous and his chronology confused. For instance, the circumstances connected with the building of the fort on the Mississippi as related in the "Annals of Louisiana" are entirely unreliable. When Iberville heard of the English intrusion into French territory, he determined to take steps to fortify the mouth of the river against further incursions. Accordingly, while on a reconnoitering trip to Lake Pontchartrain, the commander dispatched his brother on January 15, 1700 to the Bayogoula village to seek the aid of the Indian chief in selecting a site for a fort near the mouth of the river. Iberville himself did not go to the river until February 1, 1700. He entered the river at its mouth and met Bienville eighteen leagues above. Approving the site which the latter had selected, he immediately set about the building of the fort. When the construction was well under way, he took a portion of his men with him to explore the course of the river as high as the Taensa village.

Pénicaud, on the other hand, narrates the facts concerning the building of Fort Mississippi quite differently. In the first place, he makes no mention of Iberville's preliminary excursion,³²

³¹ For example, the details given by the chronicler of the voyage from the roadstead to the mouth of the Mississippi are those pertaining to first voyage. The time which it took the expedition to travel from the roadstead to the mouth of the river, Pénicaud says, occupied four days, which is the time it took the explorer to make the same journey on his first visit to the Mississippi; log of the *Badine*, Margry, IV, 157-159. Likewise Pénicaud gives the impression that the force landed each night, while from Du Ru's journal it is quite evident that on the second voyage the expedition did not land or camp, Butler, *Journal of Paul Du Ru*, 2-4. Likewise, the annalist's identification of Mardi Gras Bayou, ten leagues from the river's mouth, gives further evidence that he confounded the two voyages, for this stream was so-named on the first exploration because it was Iberville's camp site on Shrove Tuesday, March 3, 1699; log of the *Badine*, Margry, IV, 160.

³² Although Pénicaud makes no reference to Iberville's Lake Pontchartrain expedition, he describes the topography of the Lake when recounting Bienville's excursion through the lake and his portage to the Mississippi in August 1699. His account is in substantial agreement with the other

stating that the leader set out directly for the mouth of the river. While ascending the Mississippi, he continues, Iberville noted a suitable site for a fort which he planned to have erected upon his descent.³³ When he reached the Natchez village, he sent his brother to Biloxi to secure the necessary materials for the erection of the proposed fort. It was on this return trip, the narrator tells us, that Bienville met the English vessel, but, as already explained, this encounter actually occurred during the preceding September under entirely different circumstances. Also, as shown above, the building of Fort Mississippi was begun before Iberville explored the river, and not, as Pénicaut states, after his descent from the Taensa village.³⁴

At the Taensas an incident occurred which is related in all the early accounts, but is most exaggerated in the "Annals," probably because the author got his facts second hand, though he tells them as an actual eye-witness. In his account the annalist relates that seventeen children were thrown into the burning Taensa temple to appease the angry gods, whereas all other accounts place the figure at four or five.³⁵ Furthermore, he confidently asserts, more than 200 children would have been burned if Iberville had not persuaded them to cease their bloody sacrifice. At the time of the fire, however, Iberville was three leagues away, camping on the bank of the Mississippi, when news of the temple incident was brought to him by some Frenchmen.

These are but a few of the most obvious incidents which illustrate Pénicaut's general confusion in narrating the events connected with Iberville's second exploration of the Mississippi.

sources regarding most of the geographical particulars. This is particularly true with reference to his description of present-day Bayou St. John, from which point the early travelers made the portage to the Mississippi. Compare Pénicaut's narrative, Margry, V, 385; log of the *Renommée*, *ibid.*, IV, 399; Le Sueur's letter, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 21395:7; and *Journal of Paul Du Ru*, 16.

³³ Iberville met his brother at the site of the Fort on February 4 and from the fourth to the nineteenth he was engaged in the building of the new fort, log of the *Renommée*, Margry, IV, 400. Du Ru gives the distance of the fort as seventeen leagues from the sea, *Journal of Paul Du Ru*, 6. All other authorities give eighteen leagues, cf. Delanglez, *French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana*, 12, n. 82. Its location was about forty-five miles from the sea, Jean Delanglez, "Hennepin's Voyage to the Gulf of Mexico," *MID-AMERICA*, XXI, 1939, 40.

³⁴ The Taensa village was located on Lake St. Joseph which is a little more than 400 miles from the Gulf, *ibid.*, 64.

³⁵ Du Ru who heard the account as the Frenchmen relayed it, said that four or five children were thrown into the fire, *Journal of Paul Du Ru*, 40-41. For the variations given in these early accounts, cf. Delanglez, *French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana*, 15, n. 99.

Numerous other examples could be pointed out,³⁶ but these would only give further evidence for the conclusion that all Pénicaud's statements must be verified before they can be accepted as authoritative.

As already stated, the author, in order to explain his participation in both Iberville's and Le Sueur's expeditions, post-dates the latter,³⁷ but this is not the only error he makes when narrating the details of Le Sueur's trip. His confusion is even more apparent when he asserts that Le Sueur's detachment ascended the river from its mouth, stopping at Fort Mississippi on the way, whereas Le Sueur entered the Mississippi River, not by way of its mouth, but by way of Lake Pontchartrain and Bayou St. John, forty leagues from the sea, making the difficult portage from the bayou to the river.³⁸ By this route he missed the fort which was located only eighteen leagues from the mouth of the river.

Pénicaud begins his account of Le Sueur's trip with a description of the Mississippi River from the Taensa village, where Iberville's exploration left off, since, as he remarks, it would be a useless repetition to give another account of the course of the river below the Taensas. In describing Le Sueur's ascent he minimizes his slow and tedious progress,³⁹ but describes the landmarks from the Taensa to the Arkansas River quite accurately. The remainder of the trip up the Mississippi to the copper mine in Minnesota and the sojourn of Le Sueur's party there during the winter months are outside the scope of this paper. The important consideration here is the question of chronology, and when compared with other contemporary accounts, it is obvious that Pénicaud's sequence of events is unreliable.

³⁶ Such as his failure to mention the arrival on February 16, 1700, of Henry de Tonti, the famous Italian traveler and friend of La Salle, near the mouth of the Mississippi where Iberville was erecting his fort, log of the *Renommée*, Margry, IV, 404; Pénicaud's use of knowledge acquired at a much later date when he identifies Iberville river as Bayou Manchac, the name this stream bears today.

³⁷ Le Sueur left the roadstead on February 8 and arrived at Bayou St. John on February 13, Le Sueur's letter, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 21395:6-6v, and 7. Pénicaud states that the Le Sueur expedition did not leave Biloxi until April 1700.

³⁸ While Le Sueur was engaged in transporting his goods over the portage to the Mississippi River, Father Du Ru, who was in Iberville's party, passed the miner on his way to the Bayougoula village; *Journal of Paul Du Ru*, 16.

³⁹ Because of his heavily loaded pirogue, Le Sueur's ascent was so slow that Iberville, on his return trip from the Taensas, passed this group which had advanced only six leagues above the Huma village; *ibid.*, 45; Le Sueur's letter, BN, Mss. fr. n. a., 21395:11v and 12.

IBERVILLE'S THIRD VOYAGE

The Le Sueur expedition returned to Biloxi on July 16, 1701.⁴⁰ Here, Pénicaut narrates, he found Iberville engaged in unloading his vessels. In this regard, and indeed, in regard to the entire third voyage, the chronicler has so misrepresented the facts that it is almost impossible to reconcile the events he narrates with the actual circumstances.

In the summer of 1701, Iberville was still in France making preparations for his third voyage. Moreover, confined to his bed by an abscess in his side, the colonizer was forced to put into harbor at Pensacola on December 15, 1700,⁴¹ and, in fact, did not go to Biloxi during the third voyage. Consequently the activities Pénicaut attributes to Iberville during this period, such as the soundings made around Massacre Island, the exploration of Mobile Bay, and the selection of the future site of Mobile fort, do not pertain to Iberville's third voyage. The annalist's chronology is still more upset because he includes Sauvolle as an active participant in the events of the third voyage, when as a matter of fact the commandant died during the interval between Iberville's second and third voyages, actually on August 22, 1701.⁴²

The purpose of the third voyage was to supervise the transfer of the base from Biloxi to Mobile Bay. From his sick bed at Pensacola harbor Iberville sent instructions to Bienville who began the transfer of the garrison early in January 1702. Pénicaut on the other hand states that this work was not begun until after Iberville's return to France, claiming that it was accomplished under the supervision of Boisbriand. Even though the chronicler places the transfer of the fort later than it actually occurred in the sequence of events, when he assigns a year to this incident he dates it one year too early.

Iberville himself did not visit the new fort until March, at which time the work was well under way. He sailed for France on April 27, 1702, and thus ended his last visit to the colony which he had established in Louisiana.

The most astounding inaccuracy in the "Annals of Louisiana" is the author's narration of an imaginary fourth voyage which Iberville is supposed to have made in the spring of 1702.⁴³ Subsequent writers, making an uncritical use of the narrative,

⁴⁰ Sauvolle to Pontchartrain, August 4, 1701, MPA, II, 13 and 16.

⁴¹ Iberville's journal, December 15, 1701 to April 27, 1702, Margry, IV, 503.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 504.

⁴³ Pénicaut's narrative, Margry, V, 424.

have repeated this error.⁴⁴ As a matter of fact in the early spring of 1702, the explorer was still at Mobile.

In recounting the activities which Pénicaud ascribes to this imaginary fourth voyage facts are recorded that obviously could not be put in their proper sequence. For instance, the construction of warehouses on Massacre Island was begun during the commander's third voyage,⁴⁵ while the changing of the names of Massacre and Surgères Islands to Dauphin and Ship Islands respectively first appears in Bienville's letter to the Minister of October 27, 1711.⁴⁶

THE MOBILE COLONY, 1702-1704

As the "Annals of Louisiana" proceeds, the general impression is that the author is merely jotting down isolated statements regardless of sequence, rather than relating a consecutive narrative. In addition to the confusion caused by muddled chronology, many of these statements are difficult to check due to the paucity of contemporary material covering the period from 1702 to 1704.

The narrator's recital of the treachery of the Alabama Indians and the subsequent revenge sought by the French is the only complete and orderly narration found among his sketchy statements for this two-year period. His account of this affair is graphic and many of the details are more particular than any of

⁴⁴ Notably Charlevoix, II, 414, and Peter J. Hamilton in *Colonial Mobile*, Cambridge, 1910, 56. The latter says Iberville came in the *Loire*, with ever needed supplies and oversaw for a while the affairs of the colony.

⁴⁵ Log of the *Renommée*, Margry, IV, 505.

⁴⁶ Bienville wrote: "... As I have had the honor of informing your Lordship by a brigantine from Martinique, to draw near to Massacre Island, which we now call Dauphine Island and the establishment that is beginning to be made there..." MPA, III, 159.

To trace the change of the names of these islands on the maps of that period, we have a map dated 1710, "Cours du Mississipi, depuis les sources de Mississipi aux environs de 48° jusqu'à son embouchure," Bibliothèque du Service Hydrographique (SHB) C 4040-27, on which Ship Island is still inscribed "Surgeres Island" and likewise the name of Massacre Island remains unchanged. A map of Le Maire's, "Carte nouvelle de la Louisiane et pais circonvoisins," SHB C 4044-46A, dated 1716, gives both the latter names for these islands, namely Isle Dauphine and Isle aux Vaisseaux. In the Delisle sketches, pertaining to this early period, Ship Island is consistently named *Isle du Mouillage*, and likewise Isle Massacre. Cf. "Carte des Environs du Mississipi, Donne par M. d'Iberville," SHB, C 4040-4; "Carte du Mexique de la Floride et des terres en Amerique, avec les Isles adjacentes," Archives Nationales (AN), JJ 75-253; "Carte des Environs du Mississipi," AN, JJ 75-553; "Embouchure de la Mobile," AN, JJ 75-239 (on this map, however, Ship Island is not shown); cf. "Embouchure du Mississipi," AN, JJ 74-244. The change in nomenclature for both islands appears on these sketches simultaneously. It is first noted on "Embouchure du Mississipi," AN, JJ 75-244.

the other extant reports. Characteristically he sets the event in September 1702, while Bienville, in his report to Pontchartrain, gives the date as the summer of 1704.⁴⁷

Pénicaut relates two subsequent skirmishes against the Alabama, but since these incidents are not contained in any contemporary account, at least up to 1704, it is impossible to check their authenticity. A probable explanation is that these occurred later than 1704. This explanation is certainly the case with reference to the assassination of M. de St. Cosme which the chronicler places early in the year 1703. The missionary's death occurred toward the end of the year 1706, and news of it was brought to Mobile early in January 1707.⁴⁸

The sequence in the "Annals of Louisiana" becomes even more involved when Pénicaut ascribes to the year 1704 the economic expedient of quartering part of the Mobile garrison among the neighboring Indian villages in times of famine. As far as can be ascertained, the first time this policy was employed was in 1710; at least this is the first reference to such a practice found in Bienville's letters.⁴⁹ Previous to 1710 Bienville was able to re-

⁴⁷ The killing of the Frenchmen by the Alabama Indians which precipitated the incident probably took place during the year 1703, since the Minister refers to the affair in his letter of January 30, 1704, and in his letter of September 6, 1704, Bienville does not relate the circumstances that caused the difficulty with the Alabama Indians, the supposition being that he had reported the affair previously. Le Harpe gives the date as May 1, 1703, and attributes the animosity to the activities of the English, whom, the latter claims, excited these Indians to plot against the French Bénard de La Harpe, *Journal Historique de l'Etablissement des Français a La Louisiane*, Nouvelle Orléans, 1831, 76-79.

⁴⁸ Delanglez, *French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana*, 63, n. 88; MPA, III, 38. Jean François Buisson de St. Cosme, a Seminary priest, was one of three missionaries sent from Quebec in 1698 to the Mississippi valley. The other two were François Jolliet de Montigny, the superior and Antoine Davion. During the summer of 1699, these priests visited the fort at Biloxi. M. de Montigny began a mission among the Taensa. Father Du Ru induced him to transfer his mission to the Natchez when he met the missionary on Iberville's second voyage, March 20, 1700, *Journal of Paul Du Ru*, 42. MM. de Montigny and Davion both returned to Biloxi to visit Du Ru in May 1700. Montigny then returned to France by way of New York; M. Davion returned to his mission, and M. de St. Cosme, who had first established himself at the Tamarois, near modern St. Louis, took up the mission at the Natchez; Delanglez, 22-25, 34.

⁴⁹ Bienville to Pontchartrain, June 21, 1710, MPA, III, 1515. In his letter Bienville writes: "We had some [corn] until the month of March after which, seeming myself obliged to buy some from the individuals of this place, who had very little since they had assisted the Spaniards with one hundred and eighty barrels this last autumn, I decided to send for the chiefs of several nations and I distributed soldiers to each of their villages for them to feed. I reserved only thirty soldiers to guard this fort." D'Artaguet, in his letter to the minister of June 1710, also recounts the plight of the colony and the expedient to which Bienville resorted. He confirms the latter's statement, asserting that thirty-five of the sixty-five soldiers at Mobile fort were thus distributed, *ibid.*, II, 55.

lieve the stress of his colony by sending to Vera Cruz or Havana for supplies, or by borrowing from the Spaniards at Pensacola.⁵⁰ Despite this faultiness in his chronology, Pénicaut's description of the customs, government, marriage and funeral rites of the Natchez Indians among whom he wintered gives us a first-hand account of Natchez culture, upon which writers have put a great deal of reliance.

The news of the arrival of the supply ship, the *Pélican*, in 1704, Pénicaut says, brought the scattered colonists back to Mobile. In this incident, the narrator's chronology is accurate for the *Pélican* anchored off Mobile in July 1704,⁵¹ bringing with it a contingent of marriageable girls.⁵² And with the arrival of this cargo, the important events for the year 1704 come to an end.

CONCLUSION

In this brief survey it is impossible, of course, to indicate in minute detail all the discrepancies that a careful comparison of the "Annals" with contemporary accounts makes evident. Only the most glaring inconsistencies have been pointed out in an effort to show the general unreliable character of the whole narrative. From this study it is apparent that Pénicaut's statements can be accepted only after they have been verified against authoritative sources. For this reason it is interesting to note just what use historians have made of the "Annals of Louisiana."

Charlevoix was the first to make use of the narrative. This author uncritically accepted the annalist's misstatements and errors. This is true, in particular, with regard to the incorrect date for Le Sueur's voyage to the Sioux country and in regard to the fictitious fourth voyage.

Until the publication by Margry of Pénicaut's relation the writers who followed Charlevoix did not have access to this narrative. As Heinrich points out, the authors succeeding Charlevoix made use without acknowledgment of the latter's history. Such are François-Xavier Martin, John W. Monette, Charles

⁵⁰ Cf. Bienville to Pontchartrain, September 14, 1706, *ibid.*, III, 31; *ibid.*, February 20, 1707, 35; *ibid.*, June 30, 1707, 47.

⁵¹ Delanglez, *French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana*, 52. This date is also given in La Harpe, 84.

⁵² Pénicaut gives the number of girls as twenty-six. In the contemporary accounts the number varies from twenty-one to thirty. In his appendix, Hamilton, 527, lists a total of thirty girls, but in a footnote states that on September 6, Bienville reported that only twenty-seven women landed. On the other hand, Delanglez, *French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana*, 53, n. 37, quoting the official list made in Paris, gives the total as twenty-one girls in all; while La Harpe, 84-85, says the *Pélican* brought twenty-three girls.

Gayarré, and Albert James Pickett. Since these historians did not have recourse to reliable documentary sources, many details contained in their works relating to this early period are inaccurate, but they do not, strangely enough, repeat Pénicaut's predominant errors as they are contained in Charlevoix's work.

After the publication of this narrative by Margry in 1887, a rather extensive use of Pénicaut's work might be expected since it is a continuous history of Louisiana for the first twenty years. This, however, is not the case. For reasons which do not concern us here, subsequent writers were satisfied with merely copying the works of their predecessors without giving the sources for their statements. Some of these authors are Henry E. Chambers, John R. Spears and A. H. Clark, J. F. H. Clairborne, Grace King, and Alcée Fortier.

An examination of the historical literature for the beginnings of Louisiana shows that only two authors made an extensive use of Pénicaut's narrative. Hamilton found the annalist a valuable guide for his *Colonial Mobile*, because the colonist lived in Mobile for many years and knew its environs very well. Hamilton, however, repeats Pénicaut's most glaring mistake and ascribes a fourth voyage to Iberville. Heinrich, on the other hand, making full use of all the documentary material at his disposal, was more discerning and is critical in his acceptance of Pénicaut's statements.

The comparison of Pénicaut's text with contemporary evidence makes one wonder what led Margry to publish this defective relation rather than the more accurate and more authoritative materials which he had at his disposal.

ELIZABETH MCCANN

Book Reviews

The Great Demobilization and Other Essays. By Frederic Logan Paxson. University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1941. Pp. 206.

This volume contains seven other essays written by Professor Paxson, in addition to the one which gives the book its title, "The Great Demobilization." The last mentioned essay was presented by Professor Paxson as his presidential address at the meeting of the American Historical Association in Chicago, in 1938. The others, as they appear in the volume, are: "A Generation of the Frontier Hypothesis" (1932); "The Cow Country" (1916); "The Pacific Railroads and the Disappearance of the Frontier" (1907); "The Admission of the 'Omnibus' States" (1911); "The Rise of Sport" (1917); "The Agricultural Surplus: A Problem in History" (1931); and "The New Frontier and the Old American Habit" (1935). These titles are given to make it clear that the essays deal in general with the contribution of the frontier to American development. Those acquainted with the work of Dr. Paxson will recall that his writings and his teachings have made him the foremost exponent of the point of view originally presented by Frederick Jackson Turner, with reference to the frontier influence in American life. Never an extremist, Dr. Paxson has avoided an effort to make the frontier influence explain everything in our historical development. He has simply insisted that it be given proper consideration as a vital influence in shaping what we call the American way of life. These essays deal in scholarly detail with various ramifications of the frontier theory. Like his lectures, they are concise, at times cutting, and continually characterized by a directness of phrasing definitely associated only with the author under consideration.

The papers themselves offer a pleasing variety, so far as basic materials are concerned. In the essay "The Pacific Railroads and the Disappearance of the Frontier" we find a detailed treatment of the involved and hectic history of the early western railways; in "The Admission of the 'Omnibus' States" the confusing political strategy of the late 1880's is clearly presented; in "The Rise of Sport" we have much revealing social history; and in "The Agricultural Surplus: A Problem in History," we have a penetrating study of a perennial problem in American agriculture. As a background for each essay, one senses a tremendous amount of research, and a painstaking effort to present clearly and frankly the results of much study and thought. All in all, the essays represent American historical writing at its best.

The volume includes a bibliography of the writings of Professor Paxson, and also a list of the writings of students who completed their work for the doctorate under Dr. Paxson's direction. The format of

the volume is attractive, the editing has been carefully done, and the book is a credit to its sponsors as well as to Dr. Paxson.

PAUL KINIERY

Loyola University, Chicago

La Florida, La Misión Jesuítica (1566-1572) y La Colonización Española. By Félix Zubillaga, S. J. Biblioteca Instituti Historici, S. I., Vol. I, Rome, 1941. Pp. xiv, 473.

The history of the Jesuit effort in early Florida has long awaited adequate treatment. The problems are enormous, but considerable essential source materials have been uncovered since the days of Shea, Lowery, and their contemporaries, not least of which are those in the Jesuit archives of Italy and Spain which have been delved into in recent years. Astrain and Kenny made some use of them. Now, based in great part on these documents, we have the volume of Father Zubillaga, the most detailed history of the subject which has yet been published. The author is one of the editors of the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu* in Rome. A second volume of illustrative documents is to be published in the near future.

The first 179 pages of the present work constitute a historical introduction covering the early general history of Florida, and based for the most part on Lowery and Ruidíaz y Caravia. For the ethno-history of the region Hodge is frequently cited as the authority. A fresh study of these matters based more fully on the findings of the past thirty years would have been a welcome contribution here. Pages 179-432 deal directly with the Jesuit story. This story falls into two major parts, the official direction of the Jesuit enterprise in Italy (Rome) and Spain, and the developments in America. The former aspect is fully set forth from the documents in the Jesuit archives; and anyone who has worked in early Jesuit history knows how complete such precious historical records are wherever they have escaped the ravages of political enemies in times past. The picture presented reveals the superficial character of previous writings on the subject. The Florida side of the story, however, is lamentably lacking in quite essential geographical details. It is impossible to point out these problems here, as they would require a lengthy presentation. Indeed, a well digested study of the cartography of the region, which could be made from the archival materials now available, a difficult task to be sure, would help to clarify many of these problems.

Unfortunately no effort has been made by the author to point out and clarify the plethora of contradictions to be found in previous writings on the subject. The basic causes for the failure of the Jesuit effort in Florida have not been fully explained. The rôle of Governor Menéndez de Avilés as a great sea captain and defender of Spanish outposts against covetous international rivals, has long been quite

adequately set forth by Ruidíaz y Caravia, Lowery, and others, but no detailed study has been made of Menéndez as a colony builder on a barren frontier, his conception of the mission as a frontier institution, his general policy as a colonial governor, and his relations with the Jesuits. These matters all have a direct bearing on the fate of the Jesuit mission. All in all, however, Zubillaga has done a great service in bringing forth from the Jesuit documents, some of them hitherto unexploited, new evidence which should inspire further investigation; and his promised documentary volume will undoubtedly shed additional light on this revealing chapter of Spanish American colonial history.

J. MANUEL ESPINOSA

Institute of Jesuit History

Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1939-1940. By Pierre-Georges Roy. Quebec, 1940. Pp. viii, 486.

This is the twentieth report submitted by the Archivist of the Province of Quebec to the Secretary of the Province. It contains, first, the nominal census of the parish of Quebec taken in 1744; secondly, an inventory, by the Abbé Caron, of the documentation relative to the Church in Canada from 1610 to the end of 1699; and finally, the second installment of the official letters of Governor Vaudreuil to the Paris government, as well as the letters which the king and the minister of the colonies sent to Canada. This correspondence covers one year and a half, from May 18, 1707 to November 14, 1708. In this review we wish to say a few words about the second part of the report.

The compiler of the inventory, the Abbé Caron, divides the ninety years which it covers into two periods, from 1610 to 1659, and from 1659 to 1699. The bulk of the documentation for the first period, *i. e.*, up to the coming of Bishop Laval, is taken from the *Jesuit Relations*. The source materials for the second period are more diversified. They comprise the correspondence of the Bishops of Quebec with the Vatican, the documents found in the various registers in the Archives of the Archbishopric, and "everything in the correspondence of the king, the ministers in France, and of the governors and intendants in Canada, which is related to the history of the Church in the colony." Whenever a document is in print, a mere mention of it is made; if the document is still in manuscript, there is a short résumé of it.

This inventory is rather of the nature of a guide than of a calendar. For instance, all the titles to lands granted to the Jesuits from 1626 to 1678 are brought together, on pages 159-161; so, too, are all the titles pertaining to the foundation of the Hôtel-Dieu including the land grants made to the sisters, pages 166-173. The first of these latter titles is dated December 1, 1637, and the two documents

which follow immediately are dated September 14, 1646, and November 3, 1672, page 167. There are advantages in this procedure, but there are also inconveniences. The last mentioned deed, for instance, is not found under its date, and there is no indication in the Index that one would find mention of the Intendant Jean Talon on this page.

Since this inventory is clearly intended to be what M. Caron would call an "instrument de travail," a different typographical presentation would have been preferable with the dates placed in the margin. Students are well aware how very useful it is to know the number of pages in a manuscript document; yet, except in very few cases, this information is not given. Moreover, with regard to certain documents, the reference is not to the original, but to a copy. The "Mémoire d'un missionnaire," for example, listed under 1671 is said to be in the Archives of the Archbishopric; and no reference is given to the original, which is in the Archives des Colonies, C 11A, 3:192-211. Finally, quite a few documents indicated in manuscript are also in print, a detail which the inventory does not always mention.

Two sources for the history of the Church in Canada are not listed, namely, the historical letters of Marie de l'Incarnation, and the letters of M. Tronson to the Sulpicians of Montreal. Besides, M. Caron does not seem to have had access to the documents or the calendar in the Archives of the Séminaire of Quebec. These remarks, however, are not made with the intention of detracting from the usefulness of this inventory, for there is no doubt that it will prove to be very helpful indeed. Those who have been forced to gather materials for the history of a protracted period realize what a painstaking and tedious work it is to prepare the all-important calendar of relevant documents.

JEAN DELANGLEZ

Institute of Jesuit History

New Documents by Lahontan concerning Canada and Newfoundland.

Edited with an Introduction by Gustave Lanctot. [The Oakes Collection.] Ottawa, 1940. Pp. 69.

Of the five documents published in this book by the Dominion Archivist, the first two, a gift of Lady Oakes to the Canadian Archives, are the more important: an "Instructive Summary of the Affairs of Canada," and an "Outline of a Project to Capture Quebec and Placentia." The other three comprise a deed of gift by Lahontan, now in the Archives of the Palais de Justice of Montreal; an autograph letter of Lahontan dated Hamburg, June 19, 1694, which is reproduced in facsimile for the first time, though the text appears in print in Margry, IV, 6-8; and finally, the 1692 census of New France.

All these documents are printed in French and English on opposite pages, and the introduction is also bilingual. In this introduction, Major Lanctot bases his outline of the career of Lahontan on the study

of Joseph-Edmond Roy. The two first documents are not signed, but as the editor avers, there can be no doubt as to their author: ideas, style, autobiographical details fit nobody else but the notorious Baron Lahontan. The present reviewer may add that, thanks to a photographic reproduction of the first page of both memoirs, he is able to confirm this conclusion through having compared the handwriting with that of another long Lahontan manuscript: two autograph letters signed and an autograph copy by Lahontan of the Journal of Jean Cavalier. This manuscript was published in 1938 by the Institute of Jesuit History from a photograph in the Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library, Chicago. As a result of this comparison, the conclusion of Major Lanctot is established beyond cavil, "the same characteristics, the same peculiarities, the same mistakes are found" in all these manuscripts.

The editor writes that after September 1698, "history possesses no further details on the baron's wanderings." This is not quite correct. The two letters referred to above, dated Lisbon, September 1 and September 9, 1699, show that Lahontan went to Portugal shortly after he had approached Bonrepaus, the French ambassador at The Hague, and that while in Lisbon, he offered to sell his services to Spain, the country on which, the year before, he had offered to spy for the French government. In these Lisbon letters, too, we find him inciting a foreign power, Spain, against his own country. In the documents under review which were drawn up by Lahontan for the information of the British government, we find him, two years before he approached Bonrepaus, urging the English to seize Newfoundland and New France. "While reading these documents," the editor pertinently remarks, "we must not forget that Lahontan always remains Lahontan," a *raté*, as Professor Chinard branded him for all time. The service record of this French army officer is indeed remarkable. He twice deserted his post in the New World; in 1696, he incited the English to seize Newfoundland and New France; in 1698, he offered to become a French spy in Spain for the modest sum of "four hundred *écus*" a year; in 1699, he urged the Spaniards to take action against the usurpation of the French in Louisiana; and in 1703, he published in Holland a book, dedicated to the King of Denmark, in which he vents his spleen against his fellow countrymen.

While reading the introduction to these documents, one is struck by a double coincidence which seems to have escaped the notice of Major Lanctot. He correctly deduces that the two memoirs were written in 1696, and convincingly reasons that the addressee of both documents was the English Secretary of War, William Blathwait. The first of the two coincidences here referred to is apparent from the following passage of Hennepin's *New Discovery*. We read in the preface that in this same year, 1696, "God Who always takes care of oppressed innocence, raised up for me Monsieur de Blathuây, first Secretary of

War of William III, King of England"; and that, in the same year, "I went . . . to The Hague, where I was most favorably received by the said Sieur de Blathuâyt." The second coincidence is no less striking. We know from a letter of the French ambassador at The Hague that in September 1698, Lahontan offered his services to France as a spy; a step which can only be "explained by his frantic desire to return to France." Less than three months earlier, the same French ambassador had received several visits from the self-styled protégé of the said Blathwayt, who also wished to return to France, and in whose *New Discovery* published the preceding year, William III of England, as is well known, is invited "to lay the foundation of one of the greatest empires in the world, . . . to make plantations in a country, which is so fertile as to afford two crops every year," i. e., in Louisiana which, by virtue of the *prise de possession* by La Salle in 1682, was French territory. This double coincidence partially supports the statement of J. E. Roy, that Hennepin and Lahontan "make a perfect pair," but not entirely, for Hennepin at least was not a French subject.

It may not be out of place here to thank Lady Oakes, in the name of all those interested in the early history of North America, for her gracious generosity in allowing these valuable documents to be placed at the disposal of students; and we may venture to hope, in the interests of scholarly research, that her example will be followed by others who possess similar treasures. Even though the publication of such documents will but rarely lead to a modification of opinions based on previous documentation, it may well serve, as in the present instance, to confirm previous judgments of history beyond the possibility of further reasonable appeal.

JEAN DELANGLEZ

Institute of Jesuit History

La Obra de los Jesuitas Mexicanos durante la Época Colonial. 1572-1767. Tomo II. Las Misiones. By Gerard Decorme, S. J. Antigua Libreria Robredo, Mexico, 1941. Pp. xxii, 640.

The appearance of this second volume of his colonial history brings to a conclusion the work planned some thirty years ago by this distinguished historian of the Mexican Jesuits. His first major effort resulted in the *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la República Mexicana*. The first part of this work, *Restauración y Vida de Secularización, 1816-1848*, appeared in 1914, and the second, recounting the events from 1848 to 1880, in 1921, both volumes issuing from the "El Regional" press of Guadalajara. During the present year the two volumes of the colonial narrative have been published. (On Volume I see the review in MID-AMERICA, XXIII, April 1941.)

The span of years covered by the republican history indicates that this study is detailed and highly documented, and its value is in direct contrast with its rareness and lack of recognition among American

historians of Mexico. In particular it offers a unique insight into the struggles of the Mexican people to build a stable constitutional government, a most vexing problem to students in the United States.

The *Obra* on the other hand covers two centuries of history that was made during the period when a rich and powerful nation, using the traditional culture of Europe through the medium of a mature administrative system, directed the activities of this its choicest colony. In this present work, then, the problem of the historian, while it offers him an immense quantity of organized data, forces upon him the necessity of compression and of careful arrangement.

The volume on the Missions illustrates this point clearly. Those familiar with the Bolton-inspired publications are aware of the vast quantity of materials at hand for a study of those missions, as well as the broad extent of the institutions themselves and their importance in American history. Father Decorme deserves their thanks for his admirable ordering of this multiform and complex narrative. His "Ojeada General," or overview, examines the territory and populations of the missions, the steps in their conquest, the missionaries, their methods and their achievements. He then devotes a chapter to each successive mission foundation, its organization, support and supply, development, vicissitudes and successes, and—where this took place—its incorporation into ordinary secular life. The end of the system of missions is not treated in this volume, for it had already been studied in the former volume under the general heading of the destruction of all Jesuit work in New Spain in 1767.

The unembellished account of the author cannot conceal his very deep knowledge of his subject. The extensive bibliography alone will certify this point. But to one acquainted with the field the skill of Father Decorme in exact analysis, in sharp characterization, in utmost fairness and objectivity, brings complete reliance on his narrative. Undoubtedly the researches now proceeding in American scholarly circles will qualify or expand his picture in some or other circumstance. His titles in the book lists are defective in some minutiae. His maps, while extremely helpful to the casual reader, would profit from greater attention to detail. Nevertheless he has done a thorough piece of work, and in some points, such as the large and brilliant account of Father Kino, he has written history of the highest order. A sixty-page index (and a list of *errata*) complete the book.

W. EUGENE SHIELS

Loyola University, Chicago

The First Expedition of Vargas into New Mexico. By J. Manuel Espinosa. The University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, New Mexico, 1940. Pp. x, 319.

This work is Volume X of the Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publications, 1540-1940, which are under the general editorship of Dr. George P. Hammond. When the Coronado Historical Series will have come from the press twelve highly important volumes will stand on the shelves as scholarly monuments to the great explorer and as outstanding contributions to the colonial history of the southwestern States. These with the volumes of the Coronado Bandelier Series on anthropological developments may be considered as one of the major scholarly undertakings of this country. In plan and scope the series leaves nothing to be desired, while the collaborators could scarcely have been better chosen. Herbert E. Bolton, "the master historian of Spanish exploration," and the inspiring guide of many explorers in Spanish American history, has the first and twelfth volumes. The other ten books will bear the names of George P. Hammond, Agapito Rey, Arthur S. Aiton, Benjamin W. Wheeler, Lansing B. Bloom, Frederick Webb Hodge, France V. Scholes, Charles W. Hackett, Alfred B. Thomas, and J. Manuel Espinosa. In all the set will be a history of colonial New Mexico, containing most of the fundamental documentary sources covering the period from 1540 to 1778. A more interesting project will be hard to find.

Dr. Espinosa's volume records the early days of Don Diego de Vargas Zapata Luján Ponce de León on the New Mexican scene. In an introduction smoothly written in forty-two pages we find New Mexico placed in its proper setting in the Spanish scheme of imperialism and in relation to Old Mexico. The author finds that for a period of fifty years after the foundation of New Mexico by Juan de Oñate Spanish civilization took deep root, and he attributes much of the progress to the great flowering of Franciscan missionary activity especially after 1620. Between 1645 and 1675 signs of rebellion appeared; medicine men in the kivas, political vicissitudes, economic exploitation, and other causes undermined the strength of the missions and colonies. Popé led an elaborately planned revolt in 1680, designed to blot out every vestige of Spanish rule, and well did he succeed. Fugitives from the great scourge congregated at El Paso, which became at once an outpost of Spanish control and a taking-off place for excursions attempting to reconquer New Mexico. At length when fear of French occupancy was great and the desire of Franciscan missionaries to return to their former children was strong Diego de Vargas was sent to reconquer the land for Spain and Christianity. He took charge as governor at El Paso in February of 1691. Carefully he planned expeditions into the land of the Pueblos. By the end of 1693 Vargas with soldiers, colonists, and missionaries was established in Santa Fe, New Mexico.

The detailed story of this phase of the reconquest is told in the seven documents translated and edited by Dr. Espinosa. The first document is the official authorization for Vargas' reconquest. The second document is his campaign journal and correspondence from August 21 to October 16, 1692. Document III is the translation of the journal from October 16, 1692 to January 12 of the following year. These two documents are of course the backbone of the book and require about 230 pages. They are followed by a letter, two reports, and an announcement to Vargas by Conde de Galve, that his deed would be brought to the attention of the king.

The constructive work of the reconquering governor is briefly indicated. Fortunately, Dr. Espinosa is about to continue his basic work with another publication describing the progress of New Mexico under Vargas. The present volume is well translated, and many will be grateful for the editing, the uniformity of spelling, the excellent printing and format, and the indexing. The documents thus presented give a graphic picture and an accurate report of stirring days on the frontier.

JEROME V. JACOBSEN

Loyola University, Chicago

The History of Saint Thomas Parish, Ann Arbor. By Louis William Doll. With a Chapter on Athletics by Edward F. Engle. Ann Arbor, 1941. Pp. vi, 291.

The author of this volume, Louis William Doll, Ph. D., University of Michigan, writes in the preface that it was his purpose to treat his subject "exhaustively," as far as this could be done "with the materials at hand." No one who examines however cursorily the product of his labors will be inclined to question the fact that he has realized his purpose. An impressive body of factual data is spread before the reader and it is done with meticulous discrimination and otherwise according to the most approved canons of scholarly historiography. Not only is the heuristic, as indicated in the well-made bibliography, most commendable, an immense amount of source-material, both published and unpublished having been searched out, but the source-material has been dealt with critically and with refreshing discrimination. The sources drawn upon are of such various types as chancery and civil records, parish registers and account books, archival material, books, articles and newspapers. As an instance of the happy use to which newspapers are put, it may be mentioned that the ministerial itinerary for 1835 of Reverend Patrick O'Kelly, Ann Arbor's first resident priest (he was later also Milwaukee's first resident pastor) is reconstructed in detail (pp. 12, 13) from notices appearing in the Ann Arbor paper, the *Michigan Argus*.

Though Father O'Kelly was the earliest priest to minister to the Catholics of Ann Arbor, the real organization of Saint Thomas parish

was effected by Reverend Thomas Cullen, under whom the first church was dedicated, 1845. His activities and those of his successors in the pastorate to the present incumbent, Very Reverend G. Warren Peek, are duly chronicled, a chapter to each successive pastor, while the cooperation of the laity in the development of the parish, a factor often somewhat neglected in the conventional parochial history, is set out in proper relief. The book is topped off with a remarkable chapter of forty-three pages by Edward F. Engle on the history of athletics in Saint Thomas parish. Nowhere else, it is safe to say, has the athletic side of organized parochial life been portrayed with such abundant and informing detail.

All in all, Dr. Doll has given us a very excellent type of parish history. Here are revealed in illuminating fashion the processes by which the great parochial units of the Catholic Church in the United States were built up during the period of immigration and after. Accuracy and other aspects of historical scholarship feature the work, which may be commended on the whole as a pattern to future chroniclers of parish history.

The statement (p. 101) about Father Maurice (not Morris) Sullivan, S. J., needs correction. He was born somewhere in Michigan, October 22, 1860, and died in India, January 3, 1899.

GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN

Loyola University, Chicago

Notes and Comment

PSEUDO-SCHOLARSHIP

Occasionally it becomes necessary to assume the unpleasant task of revealing the real character of a book disguised in the trappings of scholarship. Historians of this country have been quite shocked during the past few years over several instances of plagiarism by persons whom they had every reason to trust because of previous qualifications and university connections. Historians have noted, too, with considerable chagrin an outcropping of pseudo-scholarship, or to speak more plainly, of cheating, in books whose authors violate, consciously or not, basic principles of scholarly research taught to them and fundamental principles of ethics governing publications. Perhaps the few offending authors are unaware of the laws respecting copyrights; perhaps they are of a peculiar caste of mind which supposes that anything already in print or anything in manuscript or thesis form or any collection of materials may be used by them as they please; perhaps the itch to see their names on book covers, or the urge to beat somebody else to a field has something to do with the "forgetfulness," but clear it is to all editors and publishers that many pseudo-historians lack all sense of the rights of others to their findings and to their writings.

The most recent of the glaring examples of pseudo-scholarship comes in the form of Jessie B. Bailey's *Diego de Vargas and the Reconquest of New Mexico*, published at Albuquerque in 1940. As might have been expected it has been almost unanimously condemned as research by competent reviewers; only one superficial reviewer slipped up to the extent of an innocuous but not condemning notice. Anyone curious to have the opinions of the capable reviewers may find them in the *Pacific Historical Review* (March 1941, pages 100-101), *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (June 1941, pages 80-81), and in the *American Historical Review* (July 1941, page 958). In these reviews the characterizations of the book as a "rehash," "a running summary," and "badly below par," stand out. The reviewers mention some inaccuracies, but in the brief spaces allotted to them were unable to build up a case against pseudo-scholarship.

First off, the incomplete documentation of the Bailey volume, written as a doctoral dissertation in 1936, presents itself immediately upon examination of the preface, footnotes, and bibliography. The work is based exclusively on documents contained in the Archivo General y Público de la Nación (AGN) Mexico, *Historia*, tomos 37-39, and *Provincias Internas*, tomo 37. The listing of these manuscripts in the bibliography presents a curious coincidence: it is either taken bodily from a thesis written on the same subject at the University of California in 1934, which, incidentally, was a preliminary study based

on virtually the same limited documentation, or else it is purely accidental that the listing, including explanatory comments, have the same wording and sentence structure almost throughout. The latter is, of course, within the realm of possibility. The fragmentary original documents for the period in the Santa Fé Archives do not appear to have been consulted directly. The all important original and certified copies of documents for the period, including official reports and correspondence, mission records, etc., over and above AGN, *Historia*, tomos 37-39, and *Provincias Internas*, tomo 35, as contained in several archives in both Spain and Mexico, were not consulted by Bailey. Thus the limitations of Bailey's documentation even as listed in the bibliography of the book, precluded any serious investigation of the subject from the outset.

Other lapses may be pointed out in the text. Pages 10-12 of Bailey's book consist of a sketch summary of Vargas' lineage and early years based on Espinosa, "Notes on the Lineage of Don Diego de Vargas," *New Mexico Historical Review*, X (April 1935), 112-120. Although this article is not cited in a footnote as the source for her statements, the author reproduces footnote citations from the article with practically no change of wording. Several of these citations could not possibly have been consulted by Bailey. Thus to the stranger to the field she gives the impression of having consulted sources that she merely recopied from the investigations of others. This inexcusable lack of scholarship is frequent throughout the volume. Similarly, pages 12-20 are an uncritical paraphrasing of Espinosa, "The Legend of Sierra Azul," *New Mexico Historical Review*, IX (April 1934), 125-132, 139-147, often with little or no change of wording in both the text and footnotes. Where the author has translated documents independently, that is, where she has not merely incorporated such translations from previously published works, they are frequently almost unintelligible.

Dealing with Vargas' visit to the western pueblos in 1692, the return to El Paso, etc., pages 74-87 are based almost entirely on Bancroft and Twitchell, and Leonard's edition of the Sigüenza y Góngora pamphlet of 18 folio pages on the expedition published in 1693; these are slender sources indeed for this, hence the presentation is fragmentary and sketchy. A complete account was only possible by correlating the damaged and inadequate originals in Santa Fé, and the certified copies of them as filed in Mexico and Spain. Since this part of the diary is found in complete form only in the Archive of the Indies copy, which Bailey did not use, she could add nothing to Twitchell and Sigüenza. The complete diary for this expedition, based on the various original sources mentioned above, since has been published in the Coronado Historical Series, X, Albuquerque, 1940.

Pages 88-186, which cover Vargas' second entrada, present little more than a running narrative of Vargas' campaign journal from

1693-1694, with no clear indication of the progress in developments, and based almost exclusively on what is found in AGN, *Historia*, tomos 38 and 39. Some passages, even consecutive pages, are so similar in language to parts of the previously mentioned unpublished thesis written on the whole subject at the University of California in 1934, as to challenge the possibility of mere coincidence.

The piece-meal account for the period from 1693 to the Pueblo Revolt of 1696, pages 186-225, is wholly inadequate; it is founded for the most part on AGN, *Historia*, tomo 39. For example, two pages are devoted to the important preparations for the expeditions of 1693. Essential documentation for this story is to be found in the Biblioteca Nacional (BNM) Mexico, legajos 3 and 4, which the author did not consult.

The account of the Revolt of 1696, one of the great turning points in the story, adds nothing to Bancroft and Twitchell, who based their accounts exclusively on the fragmentary Santa Fé Archives; 19 pages are devoted to the entire story, including the preliminaries and final outcome. The mission phase of the incident, which was a crucial matter, is scarcely touched upon, although a fairly complete story could have been told from BNM, legajos 3 and 4, which Bailey did not use. These legajos contain, among other things, much of the original correspondence of the Franciscan missionaries for this period. Consequently, the rôle of the missions in the story is sadly neglected, due to the bibliographical deficiencies of the book as indicated above.

The important and revealing Vargas *residencia* is discussed in two pages. Much of the story is contained in the Archivo General de Indias (AGI), *Guadalajara*, legajos 141-142, AGN, *Vínculos*, tomo 14, and BNM, legajo 4, none of which Bailey consulted.

In the matter of secondary works the bibliography is incomplete. The volume is open to especially severe criticism in view of the numerous sentences and footnotes taken almost bodily from other secondary works, with little or no change of wording, and falsely posed as the original statements and footnote citations of the author.

FOR LITTLE PEOPLE

Worthy of high recommendation is the charmingly written *Illinois Grows Up*, by Frances L. Blatchford and Lila W. Erminger. This book, a history of Illinois from A to Z in 115 pages, is designed for children from eight to twelve years of age, but adults will find it very instructive and interesting, just as so many grown-ups do with children's games and playthings at Christmas. The writers present in an unostentatious way a good method for classroom teaching of history to youngsters, and hence add pedagogical to informational value to their work. Sponsored by The Colonial Dames of America the book is published by A. C. McClurg and Company of Chicago at the list price of two dollars. The illustrations by Louise Parsons Stanton are excep-

tional in color and artistry and quite in taste with the fine printing. Added to its quality of style the book has about it a note of genuinity and is inspirational in a Christian and American way.

PERIODICALS

Under the auspices of the Franciscan Educational Conference for years past two serial publications have been coming forth, *Franciscan Studies* being a series of twenty-one monographs and *Franciscan Reports* containing papers read at annual meetings of the Conference. Now these two publications have been merged into a new quarterly named *Franciscan Studies*, whose first number is dated March 1941. The quarterly will have Reverend Marion Habig, O. F. M., of Quincy College, Quincy, Illinois, as editor-in-chief.

William R. Konrad's "The Diminishing Influences of German Culture in New Orleans Life since 1865" appeared in the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* for January 1941. Herein is given the beginning and rise of German life and culture in the southern seaport from 1840 to 1865 and its subsequent dwindling. An estimated 273,000 Germans landed in New Orleans between 1847 and 1880. In 1870 the largest single national group in the city was German. German churches, asylums, and schools were opened, newspapers and periodicals printed, and plays produced. The origin, progress, influence, and decline of each is traced in an interesting manner.

The North Carolina Historical Review, April 1941, carried an excellently written biographical sketch of "William Gaston: Southern Statesman," by Joseph H. Schauinger. William Gaston (1778-1844), born in New Bern, North Carolina, was the first student to enter Georgetown University. Illness prevented his continuance at college, but after private study he passed the bar examination at twenty. Thereafter by steps he became a highly respected figure in the North Carolina legislative, judicial, and political fields. In an address of two days in 1835 Judge Gaston made a famous plea for religious tolerance, specifically for the amendment of the 32nd article of the State Constitution, "which provided that no person could hold an office in the State who did not believe in the truth of the Protestant religion." After his plea the word "Christian" was substituted for "Protestant." Mr. Schauinger in summary says of the great North Carolinian: "His many public services, culminating in his ten years in the supreme court, place him in the first rank of her statesmen. His decisions . . . concerning the status of the slave and the free Negro give him the right to be considered as a great humanitarian; other decisions attest his right to be called a great jurist." His works "must be classed as the highest form of literature in the State."

"Contributions of the Slovenes to the Chippewa and Ottawa Indian Missions," by Joseph Gregorich, appeared in the *Michigan History*

Magazine of the Spring, 1941. This article deals mainly with the missionary and episcopal life of Bishop Frederic Baraga, who was born in Carniola, studied at Laibach and Vienna, entered the seminary in 1821, was ordained, and finally began his missionary labors in 1831 at the present Harbor Springs, Michigan. He supported most of his missions by donations begged from relatives and from the Leopoldine Society. Other Slovenes, many of whom are mentioned, aided the Michigan bishop. . . . In the same number "La Salle's Trip across Southern Michigan in 1680," by Clifford H. Prator, is accompanied by a map showing that the probable route of Robert Cavelier led through the site of Ann Arbor.

The Pacific Historical Review, March 1941, printed three papers on hemisphere defense read at the previous December meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association. Walter N. Sage of the University of British Columbia traced "The Historical Peculiarities of Canada with regard to Hemisphere Defence" down to the statement of the terms of the Ogdenburg Agreement, indicating the agreeable relations existing between Canada and the United States. W. Stull Holt spoke of the constant initiative of the United States in taking steps to prevent the intrusion of any European system into the American scene. Octavio Méndez Pereira, formerly president of the University of Panamá, presented "The Significance of Hispanic American Defence of the Continent."

AIDS

Among the various useful helps recently produced is *An Encyclopedia of World History*, a revised and modernized version of Ploetz's "Epitome," compiled and edited by William L. Langer and fifteen collaborators, and published last year by Houghton Mifflin Company; this is about the fiftieth refurbishing of the famed dictionary of dates. . . . The *Inter-American Statistical Yearbook*, edited by Raúl C. Migone for 1940, was published in 612 pages and four languages; containing 312 tables it is very useful. . . . A *Bibliography of Latin America 1935-1940* came from the Latin American List and Information Service. . . . A *Select Bibliography of British History 1660-1760*, by Clyde L. Grose, is offered by the University of Chicago Press; sixty scholars have assisted in making 8,000 selections from 18,000 references to manuscript collections, important printed collections, contemporary, and later writings. . . . Dr. Oscar O. Winther of Indiana University should soon have out his guide to the periodical literature pertaining to the West; he has arranged lists of articles which have appeared in journals during the past 130 years. . . . "A Survey of Pacific Northwest Anthropological Research 1930-1940," by Melville Jacobs, appeared in the January 1941 *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*. . . . "List of Doctoral Dissertations in History Now in Progress," appeared as a supplement to the April 1941 *American Historical Review*. . . . The

Ohio State Archeological and Historical Quarterly for April-June 1941 has in 33 pages "A Select List of Materials on Ohio History in Serial Publications," as compiled by William D. Overman. . . . *The North Carolina Historical Review*, April 1941, has "North Carolina Bibliography, 1939-1940," compiled by Mary L. Thornton.

Sponsored by The North Carolina Historical Commission and prepared by The Historical Records Survey, a *Guide to the Manuscripts in the Southern Historical Collection of the University of North Carolina* has recently come forth as Volume 24, Number 2, of The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science. There are 809 titles of manuscript collections listed and the majority of these are rather completely calendared. A very helpful index completes the volume of 204 pages.

ON LATIN AMERICA

Two notable contributions to the history of the Spanish Southwest which have appeared in recent months are Dr. Alfred B. Thomas' documentary volumes entitled *The Plains Indians and New Mexico, 1751-1778*, Coronado Historical Series, XI, Albuquerque, 1940, and *Teodoro de Croix and the Northern Frontier of New Spain, 1776-1783*, Norman, 1941. The fine introduction in the first mentioned work will be especially useful to historical students. Many writers, it seems, are not fully aware of the fact that recent research into the history of the Spanish Southwest has greatly modified previous notions based on an insufficient knowledge of the sources. Indeed, as regards the history of colonial New Mexico, so much of the source material remained unexploited in foreign archives until recent years that very little can be correctly evaluated from what was published prior to the late 1920's. In the above works, along with his earlier volume entitled *Forgotten Frontiers, A Study of Don Juan Bautista de Anza, Governor of New Mexico, 1777-1787*, Norman, 1932, Dr. Thomas has broadened our knowledge of the vast changes which took place on the continent of North America in the second half of the eighteenth century.

To the special Latin American periodical lists which have appeared in recent years have been added two useful general lists: *List of Latin American Serials, A Survey of Exchanges Available in U. S. Libraries*, Studies of the A. L. A. Committee on Library Cooperation with Latin America, Number One, Chicago, 1941, pp. 70; *Latin American Periodicals Currently Received in the Library of Congress, Preliminary Edition*, The Hispanic Foundation, The Library of Congress, Washington, 1941, pp. xv, 137. Both are described as tentative, the latter mimeographed, and with a final edition to be published shortly. The *List of Latin American Serials* should be generally useful, as it is a list of such periodicals available in seventeen important libraries in

this country, with some 1,500 titles arranged by country, city, publishing agent, title, and name of U. S. library where available. The Hispanic Foundation list contains 915 titles, with brief descriptive notes in some cases; other recent, current, or projected special Hispanic American periodical lists are separately listed on pp. ix-xv. The Hispanic Foundation, incidentally, has given much fresh impetus to the accession of Hispanic American books and periodicals to the fine Library of Congress materials. The first annual report of the Hispanic Foundation of the Library of Congress, which was opened July 1, 1939, reprinted from the annual report of the Librarian of Congress for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1940, Washington, 1941, p. 18, describes the work and ambitious publication plans of the Hispanic Foundation. One project is a biennial Record of Investigations in Progress in the Field of Hispanic Studies; the most ambitious of these projects is to prepare a master Hispanic catalog containing cards on all Hispanic books in the Hispanic Room of the Library of Congress and other Washington libraries.

The National University of Mexico recently distributed, as a "means of more effective understanding of the Mexican viewpoint" and improved relations between the United States and Mexico, *The Bucareli Agreements and International Law*, by Antonio Gómez Robledo, translated by Salomón de la Silva. This is all about the Mexican oil and agrarian question from what was until the new election the Mexican official and legalistic viewpoint. The attack on exploiters of Mexico is clear; their properties were "expropriated" in March 1938, and Robledo's work attempts to lend justification for the official Mexican act of confiscation. He could not at the time of his writing "foresee the outcome of the diplomatic aggressiveness of the Empires, but the deluge of insults dubbed diplomatic notes that has fallen upon us will have the virtue of awakening us from recent dreams, from the dream of the Good Neighbor, and from the dream of British influence serving us to balance the influence of the United States." Needless to say, other dreams might have been added.

VARIOUS PUBLICATIONS

The Loyola University Press, Chicago, has just published *History of Europe*, a textbook for colleges, by Reverend W. Eugene Shiels, S. J., of the Department of History of Loyola University. This work is a summary of the entire span of European civilization from the earliest times to the present, broken into convenient lectures for two semesters.

A popular biography, *Father De Smet: Priest of the Rockies*, by Helene Margaret, was published last year by Farrar and Rinehart. The book is interesting throughout, although it does not attempt to supply citations of authorities. It serves to commemorate the hun-

dredth anniversary of the arrival of the Jesuit pioneer in the far west. *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* remembered the same event with an article, "Peter John De Smet," by W. L. Davis, S. J., in its April 1941 number.

Francis Norbert Blanchet and the Founding of the Oregon Mission 1838-1848, by Sister Letitia Mary Lyons, became Volume 31 of the *Studies in Church History*, published in Washington in 1940.

Recently Volume 10 (1940) of the *Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana* appeared, containing "The Fort Benton Journal 1854-1856," and the "Fort Sarpy Journal 1855-1856."

The Fourth Volume of *The Writings of Sam Houston, 1821-1847*, edited by Amelia W. Williams and Eugene C. Barker, has just come from the University of Texas Press, Austin. The materials for the noteworthy publication were turned over by the grandchildren of Houston.

While Carter G. Woodson's *The Negro in Our History* has been going through its seventh printing and edition, three other books of merit on Negro history have appeared. These are *Drums and Shadows: Survival Studies among the Georgia Coastal Negroes*, edited by Virginia Thorpe, published by University of Georgia Press, Athens; *New Haven Negroes: A Social History*, by Robert A. Warner, published by The Institute of Human Relations at the Yale University Press, New Haven; and *The Negro in Tennessee, 1865-1880*, by Alruthus Ambush Taylor, published by The Associated Publishers, Washington.

Calendar of Joel R. Poinsett Papers in The Henry D. Gilpin Collection, prepared by The Pennsylvania Historical Survey, Division of Community Service Programs, Work Projects Administration, and edited by Grace E. Heilman and Bernard S. Levin, was recently brought forth by The Gilpin Library of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. A preface by J. Knox Milligan gives the scope of the activities of The Historical Records Survey and of this one in particular. An introduction by Miss Heilman places the calendared letters in their setting in the life of Poinsett. The next 240 pages are given over to as complete a description as possible of 613 letters. A bibliography and very serviceable index complete the volume, which is well edited and nicely printed.

INDEX

MID-AMERICA

VOLUME XXIII

INDEXER'S NOTE

Names of contributors are in small capitals; titles of articles in this volume are in quotation marks; titles of books and periodicals reviewed or mentioned are in italics. Book reviews are entered under author and title of book, and under the name of the reviewer; no entries are made for subject of the book except in the case of biographies. The following abbreviations are used: tr., translator; ed., editor; revs., reviews; revd., reviewed. Clerical titles and titles of honor are found only when the forename is lacking.

- Abrego, Ana de, 81
Academic Culture in the Spanish Colonies, by J. T. Lanning, revd., 95-96
 Acaxée Indians, 283
 Accault (Ako), Michel, 20, 21, 25, 33, 36, 37, 116-17, 125-26, 127-28, 129, 130, 131, 133, 136-37
Acta Sanctorum, 203
 Aguilar, Alphonso Rael de, 62, 84
 Ako. See Accault
 Alabama Indians, 301-02
 Albanel, Charles, 35
 Alegre, Francisco Javier, 138
 Alembert, Jean Le Rond d', 203
 Algarin, Francisco Gómez, 147
 Almack, John C., 267
 Almazán, Francisco de Anaya, 62, 71
 Amarillas, Marqués de las, 150-51
American Historical Review, contents of noted, 153, 319
 Amiquipa, 281
 André, Louis, 35
 Andreis, Father de, 181
 "Annals of Louisiana," 289-91, 292-95, 297-304
 Anontaha, 216
Anthologia Graecorum Epigrammatum, 201
 Anza, Juan Bautista de, 48, 54, 56-57, 58, 59-60
 Apache Indians, 45, 60
 Apodaca, Francisco de, 79
 Aquipaguetin, 131
 Arce y Arroyo, Pablo de, 145, 148
 Archives du Service Hydrographique, 13
 Archives of Paris, 289, 290
 Archives of the Indies, 236
 Archuleta, Juan de, 68, 77, 83
 Argentina, source materials in noted, 155-56
 Arizivi, 60
 Arjo, Ignacio, 51
 Arjo, José, 47
 Arkansas River, 299
 Armstrong, Hamilton Fish, *Chronology of Failure*, revd., 93-94
Articles of Confederation, by M. Jensen, revd., 91-92
 Ashe, Thomas, 186
 Aubuchon, 225
 Audubon, John James, 186-87
 Auguelle, Antoine (Picard du Gay), 20, 21, 23, 33, 36, 105, 116-17, 126, 127, 128, 129, 131, 133, 136-37
 Augustinus, 202
Avertissement au Lecteur, 288
 Ayer, Edward E., Collection, 290
 Badine, 292
 Baltasar, Juan Antonio, 144-46
 Barba, José, 48, 52
 Barbier, Antoine-Alexandre, 108
 Bardstown, Kentucky, 182
 BARKER, EUGENE C., revs. Schmitz's *Texas Statecraft, 1836-1845*, 251
 Barret, Benolt, 226
 Barret, Jean, 226
 Barrionuevo, Father, 273
 Bart, Jean, 229, 235
 Basilio, Antonio Jácome, 273, 274
 Bates, Frederick, 170, 171, 175, 185, 186
 Bayougoula village, 297
 Bayou St. John, 299
 Becker, Carl L., 265
 Belestre, Jeanne Geneviève Picoté de, 233, 234, 235
 Belestre, Pierre Picoté de, 217, 219
 Belle Fontaine, 174, 178
 Bellinzani, 105
 Belmont, François Vachon de, 42-43, 222
 Benedictines, 196
 Benton, Thomas Hart, 270
 Bernières, Jean de, 41, 42, 99
 Bernou, Claude, 4-5, 6-10, 13, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 26, 28, 29-32, 33, 39, 104, 105, 106-26, 128-32, 133-37
 Beudin, Cornello (Godinez), 272, 278

- Bibliographical field, publications in noted, 152-54
Bibliography of Latin America 1935-1940, publication of noted, 319
 Bibliothèque Nationale, 107, 205, 206
 Biedma, 237, 244, 245, 248
 Bienville, Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de, 225, 226, 289, 294, 295, 297, 298, 300, 301, 302-03
 Bignon, Armand Jérôme, 199
 Biloxi, 293-94, 295, 296, 298, 300
 Bissonnette, Antoine, 174
 Blancas, Martin de, 147
 Bober, Mandell Morton, 265
 Bois Brûlé, 188
 Boisbriand, Pierre Dugué, sieur de, 295, 300
 Bompar, Governor de, 191
 Bordenave, M., 295
 BOSTON, BARBARA, "The 'De Soto Map,'" 236-50; revs. Milling's *Red Carolinians*, 89-91
 Boto, Antonio, 237
 Bouet, François, 290
 Bovais, St. James, 178
 Brackenridge, Henry, 174, 177, 183, 185, 186
 Brandy trade, 43
 Brazil, 241
 Brest, 292
 Briggs, Harold E., *Frontiers of the Northwest, A History of the Upper Missouri Valley*, revd., 94-95
 Brotier, Gabriel, 196, 199
Bucarelli Agreements and International Law, publication of noted, 321
 Buffon, Georges-Louis Leclerc de, 134
 Buisset (Brisset), Luc, 102
 Buois, Jonathan, 170
Bursting of Pierre Margry's La Salle Bubble, 17
 Cabot, Sebastian, 240, 241, 244
 Cahokia, 179
 Calderón, Ignacio, 148-49, 150
Calendar of Joel R. Poinsett Papers, publication of noted, 322
 Calhoun, John C., 269
 Campos, José Agustín de, and Captain Anza, 45-60
 Canada, libraries in, 176
 Cape Cinque Hommes, 188
 Cape Girardeau, 174
 Capperonier, Jean, 204, 207
 "Captain Anza and the Case of Father Campos," by PETER M. DUNNE, 45-60
 CARDINAL, EDWARD V., revs. Armstrong's *Chronology of Failure*, 93-94
 Carichic, 274, 276, 277, 278, 284
 Carolina, 291
 Carondelet, 171, 174
 Carosia, 286
 Cartier to Frontenac, 15
Casa de la Contratación, 239-40, 242, 244, 245, 248
 Castell, Edmund, 202
 Castillo, Domingo, 140
 Catholics, 179-81, 268, 269
 Caudebec, 121
 Cauroy, M. de, 127
 Cavelier, Pierre, 225-26
 Chambers, Henry E., 304
 Chambly, 41, 42
 Champlain, Fort de, 38, 40
 Charles V, Emperor, 240, 241, 242
 Charles, Joseph, 184
 Charleston, 291
 Charlevoix, P. F. X., 231, 289, 303-04
 Charsigné, M. de, 205
 Chauvelin, Henri Philippe, 195, 196, 205
 Châves, Alonso de, 240, 241, 244
 Chenie, M., 184
 Chesnel, Paul, 9
Cheval Marin, 291
 Chihuahua, 272, 273
 Choiseul, Etienne-François de, 190
 Chouteau, Auguste, 168, 173, 176, 177, 179, 182
 Chouteau, Pierre, 170, 173
Chronology of Failure, by H. F. Armstrong, revd., 93-94
 Clairambault, Pierre, 110
 Clairambault Collections, 13
 Clairborne, J. F. H., 304
 Clamorgan, Jacques, 176
 Clark, A. H., 304
Claramontana Manuscripts, 206
Claudii Ptolemaei Geographiae Libri VIII, 201
 Clement XI, Pope, 109
 Clermont, College of, 190, 205
 Cocospera mission, 46
 Colbert, Jean Baptiste, 4, 9, 28, 99, 106, 136, 220, 229
 Colbert River, 114, 127
Colonial Mobile, 304
Colorado, the Centennial State, by P. S. Fritz, revd., 161-62
 Concho Indians, 281
 Condé, Louis de, 226
 Congress, 171, 182
 Conti, François Louis, Prince de, 105, 107
 Contreras, Diego de, 277
 Copart, Juan Bautista, 285
 Council of the Indies, 143, 144, 150, 151, 239
 Courcelle, Daniel de Rémy, 135, 219
 Courteline, Georges, 134
 Créteineau-Joly, J., 194
Crónica de Carlos V, 242
Crónica de los Reyes Católicos, 242

- Cucurpe, 49, 51, 54, 56, 57
 Curtin, Joseph, memoirs of, revd., 163-64
 Cusihuiachi, 273, 274
 Daniel, François, 229
 Darby, John F., 186
 Dartaguiette, Bernard Diron, 289
 Davidson, Philip, *Propaganda and the American Revolution*, revd., 252-53
 De Backer, Augustin and Alois, 108
 De Graff, Laurent, 292-93
 De la Cruz, Pedro, 142, 149
 De Smet, Peter, 270
 "The 'De Soto Map,'" by BARBARA BOSTON, 236-50
 Decorme, Gerard, *La Obra de los Jesuitas Mexicanos durante la Epoca Colonial 1572-1767*, revd., 162-63; *Tomo II. Las Misiones*, revd., 310-11
 DELANGLEZ, JEAN, "Hennepin's Description of Louisiana," 3-44, 99-137; revs. Kinetz' *The Indians of the Western Great Lakes, 1615-1760*, 256-57; Lanctot's (ed.) *New Documents by Lahontan concerning Canada and Newfoundland*, 308-10; Pouliot's *Étude sur les Relations des Jésuites de la Nouvelle-France (1632-1672)*, 254-56; Roy's *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1939-1940*, 307-08
 Delassus, Charles, 176
 Delisle, Guillaume, 109
 Delisle, Léopold, 206
 Denonville, Jacques René de Brisay, marquis de, 227, 233, 234
 Denys, Simon, 220
 Descaries, Louis, 225
Description of Louisiana, 3-44, 99-137
 Desmazures, A. C. G., 224, 225, 226, 229, 233
 Devanchy, Pierre, 233
Development of Hispanic America, by A. C. Wilgus, revd., 259-60
 Dibdin, Thomas Frograll, 201, 202
 Diderot, Denis, 203
 Didier, Pierre-Joseph, 179-80
Diego de Vargas and the Reconquest of New Mexico, inaccuracies in noted, 315-17
 Diron, Dartaguiette, Bernard, 289
Discovery of the Great West, 10-11, 12
Discovery of the Mississippi Valley, 16-17
Divina Comedia di Dante, 201
 Doll, Louis William, *The History of Saint Thomas Parish, Ann Arbor*, revd., 313-14
 Dollard, Adam, 217
 Dollier de Casson, François, 42, 44, 215, 219
 Dollier-Galinée expedition, 110, 119
 Dolores mission, 45, 46, 47
 Druillard, George, 174
Drums and Shadows: Survival Studies among the Georgia Coastal Negroes, publication of noted, 322
 Drunkenness, among Indians, 43, 279-80, 285
 Du Bourg, Bishop, 179, 181, 183
 Du Clos, Sieur, 219
 Du Ru, Paul, 295, 296
 Duchesne, Adrien, 214
 Duchesne, Joseph, 225
 Duchesneau, Jacques, 41, 44, 100, 220
 Dudouyt, Jean, 33, 41, 42, 99-102, 105
 Dugay-Trouin, René, 235
 Duluth, Daniel Greysolon, 12, 17, 20-21, 34-37, 44, 99, 105, 118, 128, 226
 Dunand, Joseph, 180
 DUNNE, PETER M., "Tomás de Guadalupe, Missionary of the Tarahumares," 272-87; his *Pioneer Black Robes on the West Coast*, revd., 92-93
 Dupleix, Scipion, 106
 Durán y Chaves, Fernando, 69
 "Early Ste. Genevieve and Its Architecture," publication of noted, 154-55
 Eaton, Rufus, 170
 Echagoian, Julio de, 54
 Education, in Missouri, 182-84; of Iberville, 226-32; on the frontier, 268, 269, 270
 El Paso district, population of in 1692, 61-84
 El Populo, 138, 139
 Elvas, Gentleman of, 238, 244, 245
Encyclopedia of World History, publication of noted, 319
 "The End of a Jesuit Library," by W. KANE, 190-93
 "L'Enfance et la Jeunesse de Pierre Le Moyne, Sieur d'Iberville," by GUY FREGAULT, 214-35
 English, in America, 291, 295, 297
 Enjalran, Jean, 36
 ESPINOSA, J. MANUEL (tr.), "Population of the El Paso District in 1692," 61-84; revs. Fritz's *Colorado, the Centennial State*, 161-62; Zubillaga's *La Florida, La Misión Jesuítica (1566-1572) y La Colonización Española*, 306-07; his *The First Expedition of Vargas into New Mexico*, revd., 312-13

- Estrades, Godefroi Louis, Comte d', 100, 106, 108
 Estrées, Jean d', 229
Étude sur les Relations des Jésuites de la Nouvelle-France (1632-1672), by L. Pouliot, revd., 254-56
 EWING, RUSSELL C., "Investigations into the Causes of the Pima Up-rising," 138-51; revs. Dunne's *Pioneer Black Robes on the West Coast*, 92-93
 Fafard, Jean, 35
 Faillon, Étienne-Michel, 217, 225
 Falcón, 147
 Falls of St. Anthony, 34, 117, 131
Father De Smet: Priest of the Rockies, publication of noted, 321-22
Favores Celestiales, 46, 47
 Fenwick, Katherine, 206
 Fenwick, Thomas Fitzroy, 206
 Ferdinand VI, King, 144, 150
 Fernando V, King, 242
 Ferrer, Nicolás, 278
 Figueroa, Gerónimo de, 272, 287
Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition, 238
First Establishment of the Faith, 5, 10, 14, 22
First Expedition of Vargas into New Mexico, by J. M. Espinosa, revd., 312-13
 Flaget, Bishop, 180
Florida, La Misión Jesuitica (1566-1572) y La Colonización Española, by F. Zubillaga, revd., 306-07
 Florissant, 174, 181
 Fonte, Juan, 272
 Foronda, Juan, 281
 Fort Crèvecoeur, 17, 19, 22, 33, 123, 125, 126, 128
 Fort de Champlain, 38, 40
 Fort Frontenac, 19, 21, 37, 38, 40, 110, 113, 119, 120, 123, 126, 134, 135, 136
 Fort Mississippi, 297-98, 299
 Fortier, Alcée, 304
 Fourneau, Abbé, 198, 200, 204, 207, 208, 209, 210
 Fox Indians, 35, 130
 France, Jesuits in, 190-213
Francis Norbert Blanchet and the Founding of the Oregon Mission 1838-1848, publication of noted, 322
Franciscan Studies, publication of noted, 318
 Franciscans, 280-81
 Franklin, Alfred, 208
 FREGAULT, GUY, "L'Enfance et la Jeunesse de Pierre Le Moynes, Sieur d'Iberville," 214-35
 French, in America, 3-44, 99-137, 167-89, 214-35, 288-304
 French language, in Missouri, 169-70, 184
 "The French of Old Missouri (1804-1821): A Study in Assimilation," by HARVEY WISH, 167-89
 French-Canadians, in Missouri, 173
 Fritz, Percy Stanley, *Colorado, the Centennial State*, revd., 161-62
 Frontenac, Louis de Buade, Comte de, 31, 38, 39, 40, 44, 100, 102, 105, 115, 220, 221, 229, 232
 Fronteras, 58-59, 60
 Frontier hypothesis, 263-64, 265-68
Frontier in American History, 264, 266
Frontiers of the Northwest, A History of the Upper Missouri Valley, by H. E. Briggs, revd., 94-95
Fuente Americana de la Historia Argentina. Descripción de la provincia de Cuyo, publication of noted, 155-56
 Furlong, Guillermo, publications of noted, 86-87
 Galinée, René-François de, 111
 Gallardi, Luis Maria, 49, 50
 Gallegos, Joseph, 64
 Gallerati, Constancio, 51
 Gallipolis, Ohio, 168, 180
 Galve, Conde de, 61, 70, 71, 84
 Gamboa, Father, 273
 García, Alonso, 65, 68
 García, Captain, 284
 García de Salcedo, José, 273
 Garnier, Jean, 202
 GARRAGHAN, GILBERT J., "Non-Economic Factors in the Frontier Movement," 263-71; revs. Doll's *The History of Saint Thomas Parish, Ann Arbor*, 313-14; Pierce's *A History of Chicago: Vol. II. From Town to City, 1848-1871*, 88-89; Schafer's (ed.) *Memoirs of Jeremiah Curtin*, 163-64
 Gatin, Pierre, 193, 210
 Gaultier, Philippe, 233
 Gayarré, Charles, 303-04
Gazette de France, 109
Gazette de la Louisiane, 184
 Gigedo, Revilla, 143, 144, 150
 Godefroi-Louis (Comte d'Estrades), 106
 Godefroy, Jean-Baptiste, Sieur de Linctot, 220
 Godínez. See Beudin, Corrello
 Godoy, Francisco Luzero de, 76
 Godoy, Juan Luzero de, 63
 Goldschmidt, Mr., 202
 Gonzáles, Manuel, 46
 Gonzalez, Sevestian, 72
 Gonzalvo, Francisco, 46
 Goodykoontz, Colin B., 268-69
 Gougeon, L., 230

- Goyens, Jérôme, 24, 26, 27
 Granillo, Luis, 70
 Gratiot, Charles, 168, 179, 182
 Gravier, Gabriel, 9, 121, 290
Great Demobilization and Other Essays, by F. L. Paxson, revd., 305-06
 Great Lakes, 37, 111, 112
 Green Bay, 32, 35
 Griffet, Henri, 193
 Griffon, 13, 111, 120-22, 123, 126, 130, 131-32, 135
 Grijalva, Juan José de, 48
 Grimod, Abbé, 207
 Groseillers, Médard Chouart des, 217
 Grou, Lionel, 192
 Guadalajara, Tomás de, 272-87
 Guazápar Indians, 286
 Guendolain, Juan de, 277
 Guerard, N., 28
 Guérin, Léon, 235
Guide to Manuscript Collections in Louisiana, publication of noted, 153
Guide to the Manuscripts in the Southern Historical Collection of the University of North Carolina, publication of noted, 320
Guide to the Material in the National Archives, publication of noted, 85
 Guillet, Urbain, 182
 Gulf of Mexico, 114, 118, 289, 291, 293
 Gutiérrez, Bernabé, 283-84, 287
 Hafen, Leroy A., and Rister, Carl
 Coke, *Western America. The Exploration, Settlement, and Development of the Region Beyond the Mississippi*, revd., 160-61
 Hamilton, Peter J., 304
 Harel, Georges, 99
 Harlay, M. de, 197, 204, 210
 Harrisse, Henry, 10, 236-37, 238, 243
 Harveau, Cesarée, 33
 Heinrich, Pierre, 303, 304
 Hennepin, Louis, 3-44, 99-137, 291
 "Hennepin's Description of Louisiana," by JEAN DELANGLEZ, 3-44; 99-137
Hero in America, by D. Wecter, revd., 257-59
 Herrera, Domingo de, 66
 Herrera, Juan de, 69
 Herrera y Tordesillas, Antonio de, 237
 Hispanic Foundation, publications of noted, 321
Historia de la Nación Mexicana, publication of noted, 86
 Historical Society of Montana, publications of noted, 322
History of Chicago: Vol. II. From Town to City, 1848-1871, by B. L. Pierce, revd., 88-89
History of Europe, publication of noted, 321
History of Saint Thomas Parish, Ann Arbor, by L. W. Doll, revd., 313-14
History of the People of the United States, 265
Hitler's Germany, by K. Loewenstein, revd., 159
 Hozier, René de la Garde d', 106
 Hudson Bay, 230, 232, 233
 Huexotitlán, 287
 Huidobro, Manuel Bernal, 48, 51
 Huma village, 294
 Huron Indians, 216
 Hurson, 191
 Hurtado, Andres, 65, 69
 Iberville, Joseph Duchesne d', 225
 Iberville, Pierre Le Moynes d', 109, 214-35, 288, 289, 291, 292, 293-95, 296-98, 299, 300
 Illinois country, 124-25, 127
Illinois Grows Up, publication of noted, 317-18
 Illinois Indians, 39, 126, 133
 Illinois River, 8, 33, 116-17, 133
 Imuris mission, 45, 52, 55, 56, 57
 Indian House, 239
 Indian rebellions, 138-51
 Indians, 39, 40, 43, 46, 49, 52, 53-54, 55-56, 57, 59, 76, 102-03, 116, 126, 127, 129-30, 131, 133, 137, 138-51, 169, 173, 181, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 222, 225, 228, 232, 241, 269-70, 272-87, 301-02, 303
Indians of the Western Great Lakes, 1615-1760, by W. V. Kinietz, revd., 256-57
Inter-American Statistical Yearbook, publication of noted, 319
International Bibliography of Historical Sciences, publication of noted, 152
 "Investigations into the Causes of the Pima Uprising in 1751," by RUSSELL C. EWING, 138-51
 Iroquois Indians, 39, 111, 215, 217, 219, 222, 225, 228
 Irving, Washington, 173
 Jackson, Andrew, 179
 JACOBSEN, JEROME V., revs. Decor-me's *La Obra de los Jesuitas Mexicanos durante la Época Colonial 1572-1767*, 162-63; Espinosa's *The First Expedition of Vargas into New Mexico*, 312-13; Wilgus' *The Development of Hispanic America*, 259-60; Editor, Notes and Comment
 Jamisque, Daniel, 45
 Janin, Pierre, 180

- Jansenist heresy, 190, 202
 Jansenists, 202
 Jaramillo, Maria, 79
 Jefferson, Thomas, 170
 Jensen, Merrill, *The Articles of Confederation*, revd., 91-92
 Jesucárichi, 277
 Jesuit library, end of a, 190-213
Jesuit Relations, 111, 203
 Jesuits, 31-32, 33, 35-36, 41, 43, 45, 47-48, 49-50, 56, 57, 59-60, 100, 141, 142, 145-46, 148-50, 151, 190-99, 203, 204, 209-10, 212, 215, 216, 221, 226, 269-70, 272, 273-74, 276-87, 289, 296
 Jodoin, A., 230
 Jolliet, Louis, 8, 35
 Jorge, Antonio, 64
Journal des Sçavans, 203
Journal of Southern History, contents of noted, 153
 Joutel, Henri, 22
 Jova Indians, 282-83
 Jurado, Francisco, 72
 KANE, W., "The End of a Jesuit Library," 190-213; revs. Lanning's *Academic Culture in the Spanish Colonies*, 95-96
 Kaskaskia, 177
 Kastner, F. de, 225, 230
 Keller, Ignatius Xavier, 49, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 60, 141, 142, 143, 148
 King, Grace, 304
 KINIERY, PAUL, revs. Jensen's *The Articles of Confederation*, 91-92; Paxson's *The Great Demobilization and Other Essays*, 305-06; Wecter's *The Hero in America*, 257-59
 Kinietz, W. Vernon, *The Indians of the Western Great Lakes, 1615-1760*, revd., 256-57
 Kino, Francisco Eusebio, 45, 46, 47, 272
 Knollenberg, Bernhard, *Washington and the American Revolution*, revd., 157-59
 La Barre, Joseph-Antoine Lefebvre de, 101, 221, 222, 230, 231, 232
 La Chesnaye, Aubert de, 222
 La Haye, 205
 La Hontan, Louis Armand, baron de, 14
 La Mollerie, Jacques de Maleray de, 234
 La Plata, 241
 La Porte, Antoine de, 225
 La Prairie, 220
 La Purísima, 276
 La Ribourde, Gabriel de, 39-40, 127, 133
 La Rochelle, 288, 292
 La Rousselière, Jean, 133
 La Salle, Robert Cavelier, sieur de, 3, 5, 6-9, 10-11, 12, 13, 15-17, 19-23, 24, 28, 29, 30-31, 32, 37, 39, 40, 44, 102-03, 104, 105, 106-09, 110-30, 132, 133, 135-37, 291, 294
La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West, 10-11
 Labbadie, Silvestre, 182
 Laclede, Pierre, 176
 Lake Huron, 121
 Lake Michigan, 123, 133
 Lake Pontchartrain, 294, 297, 299
 Lana-Terzi, Francesco, 202
 Lancial, 212
 Lancot, Gustave (ed.), *New Documents by Lahontan concerning Canada and Newfoundland*, revd., 308-10
 Land titles, in Upper Louisiana, 168-69
 Lanning, John Tate, *Academic Culture in the Spanish Colonies*, revd., 95-96
 Lanzas, Pedro Torres, 237, 238
Latin American Periodicals Currently Received in the Library of Congress, Preliminary Edition, publication of noted, 320
Latin American Studies in American Institutions of Higher Learning, publication of noted, 86
 Lauraguais, Comte de, 195, 204
 Lauzon de la Citière, Louis de, 220
 Laval, Antoine, 202
 Laval, François de Montmorency, 33, 38, 40-41, 42, 99, 100, 218, 225
 Lavalette, Antoine, 191-95, 210
 Le Ber, Jacques, 218, 221, 226, 227
 Le Clercq, Chrestien, 5, 8-9, 11, 14, 17, 22
 Le Febvre, Hyacinthe, 99
 Le Jeune, Louis, 223, 225, 231, 232, 233, 234
 Le May, Hugolin, 24, 25-27, 104, 113, 114-15, 122
 Le Moyne, Charles (Sieur de Longueuil), 214-23, 220, 221, 225, 227, 233
 Le Moyne, Jacques Sainte-Hélène de, 229
 Le Moyne, Jean. *See* Bienville, Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de
 Le Moyne, Joseph Sérigny de, 223-24, 231
 Le Moyne, Paul Maricourt de, 225, 226, 229
 Le Moyne, Pierre. *See* Iberville, Pierre Le Moyne d'
 Le Sueur, Pierre-Charles, 296, 297, 299-300, 303
 Leal, Antonio, 46
 Leclerc, Laurent François, 196, 197, 207

- Ledac, M. P., 178
 Ledesma, Juan de, 243
 Leduc, Jean, 219
 Leiba, Pedro de, 73
 Leland, Waldo G., 115
 Lemaire, L., 106
 Leroux, Valentin, 5, 12, 39, 40, 41, 42, 44
Lettres Edifiantes, 203
 Levasseur-Roussel, M., 295
 Lewis, Theodore H., 237, 246
Lexicon Heptaglotton, 202
 Leyba, Juana de, 83
 Libraries, in Missouri, 176-77
 Library, end of a Jesuit, 190-213
 Library of Congress, 290
 Liden, 196, 199
Life of La Salle, 9
Life of Marquette, 14
 Lincoln Collection of the Illinois State Historical Library, publication of booklet describing noted, 154
 Lioncy Frères et Gouffre, 192
 Lisa, Manuel, 173, 174
List of Latin American Serials, A Survey of Exchanges Available in U. S. Libraries, publication of noted, 320-21
 Livres, value of, 211-12
 Loewenstein, Karl, *Hitler's Germany*, revd., 159
 Longueuil. See Le Moynes, Charles, sieur de
 Lopez, Francisco, 75
 Louis XIV, King, 43, 106, 109, 190, 220, 291
 Louis XV, King, 190, 193, 204, 205
 Louis-le-Grand, Collège of, 194-99, 204, 207, 213
 Louisiana, 167, 169; Hennepin's description of, 3-44, 99-137; Pénicaut's chronicle of, 288-304
 Louisiana colony, 109
Louisiana Historical Quarterly, contents of noted, 318
 Lowery, Woodbury, 238
 Lucas, Charles, 169
 Luis, Juan, 65
 Luis Oacpicagigua, 139-40, 141, 142, 143, 145, 148, 149-50
 Luna, Diego de, 79
 Luna expedition, 237, 246
 Luzero, Antonio, 62
 Madrid, Lorenzo, 71
 Madrid, Pedro, 73
 Magalhães, Gabriel de, 108
 Magdalena mission, 45, 46
Magisterium Naturae et Artis, 203
 Maisonnette, Paul de Chomedey, sieur de, 217, 218, 220
 Major, Justicia, 54
 Mance, Jeanne, 215
 Manje, Juan Mateo, 45, 46
 Manthet, Nicolas d'Ailleboust de, 225, 226
 Manthet, Paul d'Ailleboust de, 225, 226
 Map, De Soto, 236-50
 Marciana, Luis María, 48, 49-52, 53, 54-55, 56, 57, 58, 59
 Margry, Pierre, 4-13, 15-16, 17-19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 26, 27, 29, 42, 111, 112, 128, 289, 290, 303, 304
 Marion, M., 212
 Marmette, J., 230
 Marque, M., 198
 Marquette, Jacques, 8
 Marshall, Humphrey, 188
 Marshall, O. H., 13
 Martin, François-Xavier, 303
 Martin, Luis, 64
 Martinique, 191-93, 210
 Marxism, 265, 267
 Massacre Island, 300, 301
 Massicotte, E. Z., 217, 225
 Mátachic, 276, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287
 Maxwell, James, 179
 MCCANN, ELIZABETH, "Pénicaut and His Chronicle of Early Louisiana," 288-304
 McMaster, 265
 Meermann, Gerard, 199, 200, 205, 212
 Membré, Zénobe, 5, 6, 22, 39, 40, 102, 103-04, 113-14, 118, 126
 "Mémoire succinct," 224, 229, 231, 232
Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire des Sciences et des Beaux Arts, 203
 Memoirs of Joseph Curtin, ed., by J. Schafer, revd., 163-64
 Menars, M. de, 100, 105-06
 Mendoza, Juan de, 151
 Menocal, Juan Antonio, 142, 143
Mercure de France, 203
 Mesa, Alonzo de, 281
 Messier, Elisabeth, 216
 Messier, Martine, 216
 Méty, Charles-Augustin de Saffroy, sieur de, 218
 METZGER, CHARLES H., revs. Davidson's *Propaganda and the American Revolution*, 252-53; Knollenberg's *Washington and the American Revolution*, 157-59
 Mexico, 237
 Micault, Innocent, 33
 Michaud, Joseph-Francis, 106
Michigan History Magazine, contents of noted, 318-19
 Michilimackinac, 21, 32, 35-36, 44, 118, 122, 125

- Mille Lacs region, 25, 34, 118, 129, 131
- Milling, Chapman J., *Red Carolinians*, revd., 89-91
- Minnesota, 289, 297, 299
- Minutuli, 45, 46
- Mississippi River, 8, 9, 12, 21, 22, 24, 33, 103, 113-14, 116, 117-18, 130, 172, 173, 288, 289, 291, 293, 294-95, 296-99
- Mississippi Valley, 6, 14, 17, 108
- Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, contents of noted, 153
- Missouri, French in, 167-89
- Missouri Fur Company, 173
- Missouri Gazette*, 177, 182, 184
- Missouri River, 172
- Mizquia, Lazaro de, 64
- Mobile, 289, 301, 303, 304
- Mobile Bay, 293, 300
- Moluccas, 241
- Monette, John W., 303
- Monguin, M., 198
- Monso, 132
- Montaño, Antonio, 65
- Montigny, Gabriel de, 225, 226
- Montmagny, Charles de, 215
- Montreal, 37-38, 218, 219, 223, 228, 232, 233
- Mora, Francisco Xavier, 60
- Moraga, Lazaro de, 79
- Morales, Andrés de, 240
- Moréri, Louis, 106
- Moscoso, Luis de, 237
- Muratori, Ludovico Antonio, 203
- Napabechic, 278
- Narrative and Critical History of America*, 15
- Natchez Indians, 303
- Negro in Our History*, new edition of noted, 322
- Negro in Tennessee, 1865-1880*, publication of noted, 322
- Nentvig, Juan, 140, 142, 148, 149-50
- Neumann, Joseph, 277, 284, 285
- New Bourbon, 174, 180
- New Discovery*, 3, 9, 10-12, 14, 16, 18, 25, 38, 39, 41, 107, 127, 128
- New Discovery of a Vast Country in America*, 291
- New Documents by Lahontan concerning Canada and Newfoundland*, ed. by G. Lanctot, revd., 308-10
- New France, 216, 218, 221, 228
- New Haven Negroes: A Social History*, publication of noted, 322
- New Madrid, 174, 180
- New Orleans, 176, 179
- New Spain, Indian uprisings in, 138-51
- New Voyage*, 3, 16, 18, 41
- Nicanapé, 132
- Nieto, Juan, 52, 53, 54, 55, 57, 58
- Noailles, Louis-Antoine de, 109
- Nolin, Jean-Baptiste, 109
- "Non-Economic Factors in the Frontier Movement," by GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN, 263-71
- Nordenskiöld, A. E., 237
- Noriega, Juan García de, 62
- North Carolina Historical Review*, contents of noted, 318, 320
- Northwest Territory, 168, 169
- Nouveau Voyage*, 5. See also *New Voyage*
- Nouvel, Henri, 36
- Nouvelle découverte*. See *New Discovery*
- Nueva Vizcaya, 281
- Nymwegen, Peace of, 106
- Oacpicagigua, Luis, 139-40, 141, 142, 143, 145, 148, 149-50
- Obra de los Jesuitas Mexicanos durante la Época Colonial 1572-1767*, by G. Decorme, revd., 162-63; *Tomo II. Los Misiones*, revd., 310-11
- Ohio River, 8
- Ohio State Archeological and Historical Quarterly*, contents of noted, 320
- Old Ste. Genevieve, publication of brochure on noted, 154-55
- Opatas Indians, 54
- O'Reilly, Alexandro, 179
- Osage Indians, 270
- Oviedo, Juan Antonio de, 59, 60
- Oviedo y Valdés, G. F. de, 240, 244, 245
- Pablo, Don, 274
- Pacific Historical Review*, contents of noted, 319
- Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, contents of noted, 153, 319, 322
- Padilla, Joseph de, 78
- Padrón General*, 240, 248
- Padrón Real*, 239-40
- Papers in Illinois History*, contents of noted, 85
- Papigochic, 274, 276, 278, 285, 287
- Paris, Archives of, 289, 290
- Paris, University of, 190, 194-95, 198, 205
- Parkman, Francis, 8, 10-12, 15, 130, 229, 290
- Parlement, Paris, 192-95, 197, 198, 199, 203, 208, 209, 210
- Parra, Pasqual Covos de la, 66
- Parral, 272, 273, 274, 283, 285, 286, 287
- Parrilla, Diego Ortiz, 142-43, 144, 145, 146, 148, 150
- Pascual, José, 272
- Patert, Dom, 196
- Pattern map. See *Padrón Real*

- Paver, Francisco, 141
 Paxson, Frederic Logan, 267; his *The Great Demobilization and Other Essays*, revd., 305-06
 Paz, Juan de la, 83
 Pechera, 278
 Peck, John Mason, 177
 Pedraza, Bartolome Romero, 74
 Pedraza, Francisco Romero de, 64
Pélican, 303
 Peñalosa scheme, 109
 Pénicaut, André, 288-304
 "Pénicaut and His Chronicle of Early Louisiana," by E. MCCANN, 288-304
 Pensacola, 293, 300, 303
 Pensacola Bay, 293
 Perdreauxville, Marie Antoinette Adèle, 183-84
 Perera, Nicolás de, 49, 51, 52-54, 57, 58
 Perkins, J. H., 14
 Perrot, François-Marie, 100
 Pescay, Angélique La Grange, 183
 Philip II, King, 242
 Philippine Islands, 242
 Phillips, Thomas, 206
 Picard du Gay, 116, 117, 127, 128.
 See also Auguelle
 Pickett, Albert James, 304
 Pico, M., 277
 Pico, Francisco, 46
 Picot, Jacques, 219
 Picoté, Françoise, 234
 Picoté, Jeanne Geneviève. *See* Belestre, Jeanne Geneviève Picoté de
 Pierce, Bessie Louise, *A History of Chicago: Vol. II. From Town to City, 1848-1871*, revd., 88-89
 Pierson, Philippe, 36
 Pijart, Claude, 216
 Pima Indians, 46, 49, 52, 54, 56, 57, 59, 138-51
 Pimería, 272
 Pimería Alta, 47, 138-41, 143, 146
Pioneer Black Robes on the West Coast, by P. M. Dunne, revd., 92-93
Pioneer Merchant in St. Louis, publication of noted, 85-86
Plains Indians and New Mexico, 1751-1778, publication of noted, 320
 Point-Saint-Charles, 217
 Pollet, Marie-Thérèse, 235
 Pompadour, Antoinette Poisson, marquise de, 190
 Pontchartrain, Louis, comte de, 302
 "Population of the El Paso District in 1692," by J. MANUEL ESPINOSA (tr.), 61-84
 Portillo, Francisco López, 147-48
 Potawatomi Indians, 40, 123, 130, 133, 270
 Potosi Academy, 183
 Pouliot, Léon. *Etude sur les Relations des Jésuites de la Nouvelle-France (1632-1672)*, revd., 254-56
 Prado, Nicolás de, 286
 Pratte, Bernard, 170, 178, 179
 Primot, Antoine, 216
 Primot, Catherine. *See* Thierry, Catherine
Prodómo, ovvero Saggio di Alcune Invention, 202-03
Propaganda and the American Revolution, by P. Davidson, revd., 252-53
 Protestants, 180-81, 268, 269
 Prudhomme, Louis, 219
 Pseudo-scholarship, note on, 315-17
Puerto del Copei, 248, 250
 Quaritch, Bernard, 202
 Quebec, 39, 41, 118, 218, 219, 221, 226, 227
 Queylius, Gabriel de Thubiére de Lévy de, 226
 Quijano, Miguel, 148, 150
 Randin, Hugues, 35
 Ranjel, Rodrigo, 244, 245-56, 248
Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1939-1940, by P.-G. Roy, revd., 307-08
 Ratkay, Johann, 284
 Recollects, 22, 32, 40, 42, 43, 99-100, 102, 131, 136
Rectorado de los Dolores, 49
Recueil de Gazettes de France, 203
Red Carolinians, by C. J. Milling, revd., 89-91
 Reed, C. B., 224, 225, 226, 229, 233
Registres du Conseil et du Parlement, 203
Relation des découvertes, 4-10, 12-13, 15-16, 18-24, 26-31, 39, 102, 103, 105, 106, 107, 110-21, 123, 128-37
Relations de la Nouvelle-France, 31
 Religion, in frontier culture, 268, 269-71
 Renaudot, Eusèbe, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 104, 105, 106-07, 108-09, 110, 113, 135
Renommée, 291, 296
Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, 203
 Reyes, Augustina de los, 79
 Rhuen (Rowen), Enrique, 141, 151
 Ribas, Andres Perez de, 272
 Ribero, Diego, 240, 244
 Ricci, Father, 193, 210
 Rio, Alonso del, 71
 Rio, Juan del, 73
 Rio Conchos, 274, 276, 278
 Rio Papigochic, 273, 274, 276, 278, 281, 282, 284
 Rio Tomochic, 278

- Río Tutuaca, 278-79
 Río Yaqui, 272, 282
Rise of the New West, 264
 Rister, Carl Coke. *See* Hafen, Leroy H., jt. auth.
 Rivera, Juan de, 66
 Riverin, Denis, 234
 Robertson, James Alexander, 238
 Robledo, Bartolomé Gómez, 63
 Robutel, Zacharie, 226
 Rond, Islet, 220
 Ronval, Asseline de, 225
 Rose, Valentin, 206
 Rouen, 121, 290
 Rouillé, Comte, 192
 Rowen, Enrique. *See* Rhuen, Enrique
 Roxas, Carlos de, 51, 52
 Roy, A., 227
 Roy, P.-G., 225
 Roy, Pierre-Georges, *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1939-1940*, revd., 307-08
 Rozier, Ferdinand, 186
 Ryswick, Peace of, 291
 Sacy, Father de, 191
 Saeta, Francisco, 45, 47
 Sahuaripa, 283
 Saint-André, Robutel, 225
 St. Charles, 174
 St. Cosme, Jean François Jolliet de, 302
 Ste. Genevieve, 172-73, 178, 179, 181, 182, 186-87, 188
 St. Germain-des Prés, Abbey, 196-97, 205
 Sainte-Hélène, Ile, 220
 St. Joseph River, 123, 124, 133
 Saint-Léger, A. de, 106
 St. Louis, 173-74, 175, 176-77, 179-86, 187, 188
 St. Louis College, 183
 St. Louis University, 270
 St. Martin, Pierre, 184
 Saint-Père, Jean de, 216
 Saint-Simon, Louis de Rouvray, duc de, 106
 Saint-Sulpice, Séminaire de, 226
 Sainte-Thérèse, Ile, 219
 St. Vrain, Joseph de, 178
 Salamanca, University of, 179
 Sallaberry, Juan Faustino, publications of noted, 87
 Salvatierra, Juan María, 138
 Samson, M., 212
 San Bernabé, 273, 274, 278
 San Francisco de Borjia, 285
 San Gabriel, 282
 San Gerónimo, 287
 San Ignacio mission, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 52-55, 58, 142, 145
 San Miguel Temósachic, 282
 San Pablo Ocomorachic, 282
 San Rafael, 276, 282, 283
 Santa Ana, 139-40, 273, 278
 Santa Cruz, Alonso de, 237-38, 240, 241-44, 245, 248, 250
 Santa Cruz, Francisco de, 241
 Santa María Suamca, 142
 Santo Domingo, 191, 292
 Sáríc, 140, 141, 149
 Sarpy, Gregoire, 179
 Saugrain, Antoine Claude, 196, 197, 207
 Saugrain, Antoine François, 176
 Sault Ste. Marie, 122
 Sauvolle, 295, 300
 Savine, Francis, 179, 187
 Schafer, Joseph (ed.), *Memoirs of Jeremiah Curtin*, revd., 163-64
 Schewe, Christoph Friederich, 182-83
 Schmitz, Joseph William, *Texas Statecraft, 1836-1845*, revd., 251
 Schultz, Christian, 185, 187
 Scott, H. A., 24
 Sedelmayer, Jacobo, 60, 140-41
 Sedillo, Pedro, 71
 Seignelay, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, marquis de, 5, 28, 43, 44, 101, 105-06, 107, 110, 113, 114, 123
 Sel, Gabriel, 219
Select Bibliography of British History 1660-1760, publication of noted, 319
 Seligman, Edwin R. A., 265
 Septlivres, Isaac, 183
 Seven Years' War, 192, 204, 212
 Shea, John Gilmary, 3, 8, 9, 10, 12, 14, 15, 16-25, 26-27, 104, 105, 112, 113, 114, 116, 121, 122
 SHIELDS, W. EUGENE, revs. Briggs' *Frontiers of the Northwest, A History of the Upper Missouri Valley*, 94-95; *Decorme's La Obra de los Jesuitas Mexicanos durante la Epoca Colonial, 1572-1767. Tomo II. Las Misiones*, 310-11; *Hafen and Rister's Western America. The Exploration, Settlement, and Development of the Region Beyond the Mississippi*, 160-61
 Simois, Luis de, 286
 Sioux Indians, 34-35, 37, 103, 116, 126, 127-28, 129-30, 131, 133, 270
 Sisoguichic, 284, 285
 Sitting Bull, 270
 Slaves, in Missouri, 178, 187
 "Social Forces in American History," 264, 266
Some La Salle Journeys, 3
 Sonora, 139-51
 Sonora missions, 48, 54, 60
 Sosa, Mariano de, 56-57
 Souart, Gabriel, 228
 Spanish, in America, 45-60, 61-84, 138-51, 272-87, 303; in Upper

- Louisiana, 167, 169, 172, 173, 180
 Spanish Succession, War of, 10
 Sparks, Jared, 9, 10, 14, 17
 Spears, John R., 304
 Staatsbibliothek, 206
 Steiger, Gaspar, 55, 57, 58
 Stoddard, Amos, 167, 169, 181, 182, 184-85
 Suamca. *See* Santa Maria Suamca
 Sulpicians, 42, 43, 101
 Sulte, B., 225
 Surgères, François de La Rochefou-
 could, marquis de, 291
 Surgères Island, 301
 Sweet, William W., 269
Systema Bibliothecae, 202
 Taensa village, 297, 298, 299
 Tallemant des Réaux, Gédéon, 106
 Talon, Jean, 220
 Tapia, Cristoval, 72
 Tarahumara Alta, 272, 276, 284-85, 287
 Tarahumara Antigua, 272
 Tarahumara Baja, 272, 287
 Tarahumara Indians, 272-87
 Tardá, José, 272, 274, 276, 278-80, 281, 287
 Tejirachic, 278
 Tello, Tomás, 141, 151
 Temechic, 274, 278
Teodoro de Croix and the Northern Frontier of New Spain, 1776-1783, publication of noted, 320
 Tepehuan Revolt, 272
 Terán, Domingo de, 45
 Tessier, Urbain, 225
Texas Statecraft, 1836-1845, by J. W. Schmitz, revd., 251
 Thierry, Catherine, 216
 Thierry, Guillaume, 216
 Thourret, M., 112
 Thwaites, Ruben Gold, 16, 25
 Tingry, Prince de, 197, 204, 210
 Tobar, Joan, 82
 "Tomás de Guadalajara, Missionary of the Tarahumares," by PETER M. DUNNE, 272-87
 Tompkins, George, 183
 Tonti, Henri de, 6, 12, 14, 39-40, 127, 128, 130
 Toral, José, 48, 55, 56-58, 59
 Torcy, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, marquis de, 224
 Tosaboreachic, 278
 Tourville, Anne de Cotentin, comte de, 229, 235
 Tracy, Alexandre de Prouville, marquis de, 219
 Trappists, 181-82
 Triumpho de Los Angeles, 276, 282
 Trois-Rivières, 215, 216
 Tronson, Louis, 42, 43, 101, 228
 Troyes, Pierre, chevalier de, 232
 Tubutama, 60, 140-41
 Turner, Frederick J., 263-64, 265, 266, 267
 Tutuaca, 278, 279-80, 282, 283
 Upper Louisiana, 167-68, 169
 Utera, José de, 148-49
 Utrecht, Treaty of, 110
 Valencia, Juan de, 82
 Vallé, Jean Baptiste, 170, 178
 Vallière (Duc de la), 195, 204
 Varela, Diego, 64
 Varennes, 220
 Vargas, Diego de, Governor 61, 62, 84
 Vega, Garcilaso de la, 244
 Velarde, Luis Xavier, 49, 50
 Velasco, Juan López de, 238, 243, 248, 250
 Vespucci, Amerigo, 239
 Vide Poche, 174, 188
 Villa de Aguilar, 273
 Ville-Marie, 215, 216, 223. *See also* Montreal
 Villermont, Esprit Cabart de, 28, 109
 Villiers du Terrage, Marc de, 27-30, 32-33, 107, 115, 134, 135
 Vincent, J. L., 230
Voyage de la Louisiane, 202
 Walton's Polyglot Bible, 202
Washington and the American Revolution, by B. Knollenberg, revd., 157-59
 Wecter, Dixon, *The Hero in America*, revd., 257-59
 West Point, 170
Western America. The Exploration, Settlement, and Development of the Region Beyond the Mississippi, by L. H. Hafen and C. C. Rister, revd., 160-61
 Wieser, Franz von, 237-38
 Wilgus, A. Curtis, *The Development of Hispanic America*, revd., 259-60
 William III, 291
 Winsor, Justin, 15
 Winther, Oscar O., work of noted, 319
 WISH, HARVEY, "The French of Old Missouri (1804-1821): A Study in Assimilation," 167-89
World List of Historical Periodicals and Bibliographies, publication of noted, 152
 Wright, Robert, 167
Writings of Sam Houston, 1821-1847, publication of noted, 322
 Wrong, G. M., 229
 Xaramillo, Lucia, 76
 Ximenes' Polyglot Bible, 201
 Xiron, Joseph Tellez, 63, 67
 Xixime Indians, 282, 283
 Yepómera, 276, 281-82

- Zapata, Juan Ortiz, 280, 281, 282-83,
287
Zubillaga, Félix, *La Florida, La*
Misión Jesuítica (1566-1572) y La
Colonización Española, revd., 306-
07
ZVETINA, JOHN A., revs. Loewen-
stein's *Hitler's Germany*, 159

1911

1912

1913

1914

1915

1916

1917

1918